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ABSTRACT

The following are among the papers included in these proceedings: "Challenging the Exclusionary Effects of the Inclusive Mask of Adult Education" (Rockhill); "Organic Intellectuals of the State and Political Struggle in the University" (Cunningham); "Adult Education's Prospects in a Post-University World" (Smith); "Universities and the Community" (Thomas); "University on the Line" (Rooney); "The Disintegration of Andragogy, the Emergence of the Social Learning Paradigm" (Welton); "The Competence of Worker Bees" (Janice Malcolm); "Historical Perspectives on Workers and Workplace Learning" (Schied); "Investigation by Eventalisation" (Davidson); "Prostitutes as Adult Educators" (Hanson); "Epistemology and the Politics of Self-Education" (Baer-Doyle); "Postmodernity and the Educating of Educators" (Edwards, Usher); "Ways of Talking about Knowledge in NIU (Northern Illinois University) ACE (Adult and Continuing Education) Doctoral Dissertations Epistemology and the Future of Adult Education" (Woll); "The 'Why' Factors in the Training of Adult Educators" (Benn, Fieldhouse); "Analysis, Imagination and Commitment in the Education of Adult Educator" (Williamson); "Formal Courses of Professional Education for Australian Adult Educators" (Morris, Gonczi, Tennent); "Adult Education in Anti-Nuclear Advocacy" (Regnier, Penna); "Educating the Adult Educator in an Information Society" (Jarvis); "Economic Globalization" (Cruikshank); "Globalising University Adult Education?" (Holford); "Innovation in the University Context for Educating Adult Educators" (Henschke); "Research into Adult Self-Directed Learning in Britain and Its Implications for Educating the Adult Educator" (Percy); "Using Quality Circles in University Education for Adult Educators" (Willis); "Training Professionals to Moonlight as Educators of Adults" (Lawrence); "Humour in Adult Education" (Cathro); "Getting Off the Perch--Strengthening Ties between Adult Education and K-12 Education Faculty" (Day); "Adult Learning Models in Post Secondary Settings" (Ambury); "A Quality-Learning Organization as a Model for Vocational Learning Centers in Finland" (Sarala, Sarala); "Applications and Implications of 'Learning to Learn'" (Rose); "Good Question! Collaborative Learning and the Intentional Stance" (Peters); "Corner Men Out of the Ring--Will Adult Education Survive the Punches of Pedagogical Education?" (Tuomisto); "Social Purpose, Cultural Identity, or Competence?" (Cooke); "Critical Analysis of the History of the Social Construction of Gender from a 'Feminist' Prospective" (Bornheutter); and "Organic Intellectuals" (Holtslander). (MN)

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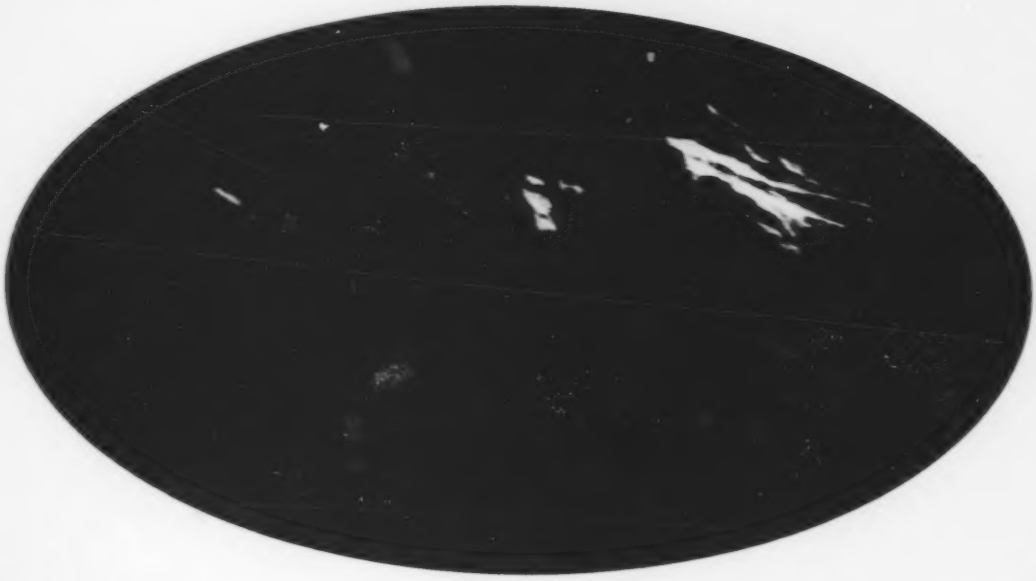
THE CANMORE PROCEEDINGS



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

ON

EDUCATING THE ADULT EDUCATOR: ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

May 14 - May 17, 1995
Canmore, Alberta, Canada

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C A N M O R E

Michael Collins, Editor

NOTICE

For copies of these Canmore Proceedings:

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These are days

we shall remember.....

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ROMANCING ADULT EDUCATION AGAIN

Passion, politics, poetry, and play. These are remembrances of Canmore invoked by the poem Peter Willis wrote (see page 299) on our Maytime meetings at Canada's International Nordic Centre in the Albertan Rockies. For those who were present, Peter's reflections may have a surer touch than these editorial comments can possibly manage in recalling the caring conversations, earnest contestations, and conviviality we experienced in Canmore.

Most of the papers in these formal proceedings are more measured than our free flowing discussions. However, some contributors have also embraced the Canmore invitation to adopt a more polemical tack in their observations on the prospects for university-based adult education in today's society. In these times when liberal aspirations are severely constrained and when what is left of the left opts for either silence or demoralizing self-mockery, it is heartening to realize that many among us are still talking, from an authentic legacy of adult education for social justice, about what is to be done—and talking in terms that define the enemy of that legacy to boot.

In view of the unrelenting cut-backs and restructuring initiatives undermining publicly funded education, the original intent of the Canmore meetings was to ascertain whether a convincing case could still be made for maintaining and developing university-based adult education. More to the point, are we still able to muster the level of commitment and political will needed to defend our academic adult education programs, extension divisions, and extra-mural departments? Though for some of us the jury is still out on this question, the overall sense at Canmore was that universities, despite their diminishing importance, remain a significant source of support for practical commitments which drew us, before we joined the academy, to the field of adult education in the first place. So we differ about where some of these commitments should lie—about ideology and priorities. Yet the Canmore consensus, at the end of the day, is that adult education occupies moral, intellectual, and strategic territory within the university that is worthy of contestation. It is premature for us to contemplate selling out.

The planning committee placed a high priority on discussion. (And that's what we got at Canmore). In its early deliberations, the committee considered the feasibility of letting the direction of our meetings unfold when we all arrived in Canmore. However, a more conventional approach prevailed. The committee opted to organize our formal sessions within three program "strands." We left plenty of time for further out-of-session discussions, in addition to our special convivial events, and adequate provision was made to allow for the emergence of alternative interest groups. For future 'Canmores," even where formal papers are to be disseminated, we now know that we can be more adventuresome in letting our program take on its own shape during the actual meetings.

The four program strands *(The Critical Dimension, Policy and Administration, Training, and Participatory Connections)*, and the organization of our sessions, are reflected in the way we have arranged the papers for presentation in these formal proceedings. There is, of course, some convergence between the strands and the sessions, but we think it is good overlap and in keeping with the intent of the proceedings.

At first glance, it might appear that *The Critical Dimension* has privileged status. This is not the case. Yet presenters of *The Critical Dimension* find themselves more on the line since contemporary critical discourse in adult education, for all of its ethical commitments and political insights, has yet to deliver on its promise. Most of us working within this discourse are all too aware of the shortfall. And for all of us who still see hopeful prospects for university-based adult education, there is much good sense (and some first rate papers) within both the other three strands.

These published proceedings do not include formal commentaries on the two lively plenary sessions. The plenary for *Administration, Policy, and Training* turned into a heated discussion around *representation* (relative absence of "other voices," privileging of Eurocentric views, etc) with regard to the conference itself. This sharp focus on our own situation was on the mark, and it was instructive. But it was also tough on the panel members who had to bear the brunt of the powerful "privileged voices" present speaking on behalf of absent "marginalized voices." The *irony* was compounded since the organizing group had spent an inordinate amount of time (far in excess of what was reasonable in view of inadequate resources) in corresponding with potential participants in Africa, Asia (including China, Russia, and India), the Middle East, and South America as well as seeking sources of funds on their behalf.

The just concern over *representation* raises the question of how much must we have in order for us to adopt an internationalist perspective on critical issues of our time. If the depressingly fractured discourse of the International Council on Adult Education (ICAE) is anything to go by, a commendable emphasis on *representation* is in itself not sufficient. Further, some of us at Canmore began to sense, rightly or wrongly, that the discourse on *representation* and the *politics of difference* is liable to become over-determined. These parlous editorial observations, of course, remain open to debate and call for closer attention, especially within the overall critical discourse in adult education.

In the wake of the first plenary, panel members of *The Critical Dimension plenary* decided postmodernly to relinquish the authoritative space made available to them on the formal program. From the alternative session they created emerged further thought-provoking group meetings organized around key issues identified from our previous sessions and a wide-open final plenary full of hope for the future. Much of the essence of our final session is discernible in Peter Willis' poetic reflections on our Canmore meetings.

Perhaps future "Canmores" should begin somewhere around where we left off. In addition to postmodern inclinations towards a relativizing, multifaceted, discourse and to implicit concerns about being identified with the emergence of an academic vanguard, these proceedings hold out reasonable prospects to those who still envision not only a future, but also a leadership role for university-based adult education.

In the best tradition of adult education of friends educating friends, Canmore was our opportunity to talk with conviction about the social purposes of adult education, to laugh generously among ourselves, to make music together, and to gaze at the mountains. The philosopher Alfred North Whitehead conceived of educational development as a continuing cyclical process. While he first gained his international reputation as a mathematician, Whitehead as educator insisted that a stage of *romance*—a vivid sense of exciting new possibities—should always precede the other two stages, of *precision* and *generalization*, in each progressive cycle of educational development. Canmore, hopefully, was a transitional phase. We were just beginning to romance adult education again.

Michael Collins
College of Education
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June 30, 1995

SECTION I

The Critical Dimension

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CANMORE

CHALLENGING THE EXCLUSIONARY EFFECTS OF THE INCLUSIVE MASK OF ADULT EDUCATION

Kathleen Rockhill
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I am trying to understand why feminist and anti-racist work do not figure more prominently amongst critical adult educators in the academy. How has it come to pass that we pride ourselves on our tradition of social justice and yet are non-responsive to the most challenging social movements of our time?

As I write, I am inescapably caught up in the discursive quagmire that haunts us. What is adult education? What is inside, what is outside of its frame? To what tradition am I referring? What strikes me is the disparity between the unwieldy range of activities that we proclaim are oriented toward the education of adults, and the relatively small number of practitioners/theorists who are interpellated as "adult educators" by the academic discipline of adult education. Have the more radical among us selectively appropriated from that vast array of practice to develop a discourse of social action that signifies a reality that is not our own? Is our "tradition" of social justice a myth of our own making? Can university-based adult educators do otherwise—that is, practice as well as theorize radical change?

My questions come from my sense that, as a scene of graduate education, as a site of academic inquiry, adult educators are not at the critical edge of educational practice and theory. The radical discourses that once sustained us no longer work. Theorizations of class oppression and empowerment upon which we drew have been challenged by poststructural critiques of truth, consciousness and power. Liberal pluralist arguments about the need for more adult "learner-centred" opportunities, once the justification of our existence, no longer hold sway. Lifelong learning has become a household term, "the learning society" surrounds us. In the university, others are doing what we were once the only ones to do. Voices that know the urgency of radical educational change come from elsewhere — feminist studies, cultural studies, anti-racist studies, queer studies. These more recent political/intellectual alliances work with theories of poststructuralism, postmodernism and postcolonialism to address urgent concerns about the persistent production of inequities through cultural/educational practices.

To work critically, adult educators need theories that can help us to understand how marginalization, or what Eve Sedgwick refers to as minoritization, is discursively constituted through our professional and personal taken-for-granted everyday beliefs and actions. To promote equity, to make it *the* goal of adult education in a way that really matters, we have to make choices—*different* choices than those we've made in the past. The liberal pluralism that has been foundational to adult education—the ideology of lifelong learning—stands in our way by masking how provision inescapably privileges the learning of some at the expense of others. It is part of the problem. We are part of the problem.

What is so interesting to me about liberal pluralism is that it has never been pluralistic. The content, the form, the "canon" of adult education, has always privileged the learning—and employment—of some at the expense of others. You see just how rigid the foundational constructs of adult education are when you try to shift the frame to include feminist and anti-racist work. At OISE, like most academic institutions, the politics of appointments provide a charged theatre for viewing how the canon of adult education as an academic discipline constitutes and perpetuates itself.

The appointments of feminist faculty members, beginning with my appointment in 1982, did not come about because the faculty of the Department thought that a gender analysis was important to the study of adult education. The Department had a dynamic cadre of feminist students who had

developed a feminist analysis through their work with the unusually strong contingent of feminist faculty in other departments within the Institute. Change has been accomplished through the relentless political work on the part of these feminist faculty and students throughout the Institute who joined forces to apply pressure upon the central administration. They appealed to the administration's concern about the academic credibility of the Department. Escalating standards for appointment to the University of Toronto's School of Graduate Studies, coupled with damaging accreditation reviews, threatened the Department's ability to offer doctoral degrees. When the Ph.D. was lost, and the Ed.D. seriously threatened, it was clear that adult education had to appoint strong scholars to survive. Most traditionally trained adult education candidates could not compete academically with the feminist applicants. Still, opposition to feminist appointments amongst the majority of the adult education faculty was vociferous. Feminist faculty and students strategized around goal statements, position descriptions, search committee appointments and recruitment of applicants to off-set the automatic disqualification of feminist applicants as "non adult educators."

It is on this discursive terrain, over what constitutes an adult educator, over what it is that we are obligated to teach in a graduate programme of adult education, that we have fought our fiercest battles. For the more traditional gate-keepers "an adult educator is one who has a graduate degree in adult education." They are strongly committed to the belief that there is an essential set of skills and theories that comprise adult education. For most, this means the ability to teach a set of courses relating to "the basic processes of adult learning". The work of feminist candidates has been dismissed as ideological, or not about "adult teaching and learning", even when they have had years of experience working in a range of educational settings with adults. At stake is the "canon" of adult education, *and* the status of those who get to define what counts as knowledge. As Patricia Williams notes: "The real issue is precisely the canonized status of any one group's control." (p. 121)

For over ten years, our Department has been torn apart by these battles, waged primarily through search committees, but lived daily in a deafening silence pierced by periodic abusive attacks. The feminist appointments that have been made would not have been possible without the numbers and political influence of the feminist faculty at OISE. The story with respect to race is complicated by the absence of an equally influential contingent of faculty of colour. The white feminist faculty did not pay enough attention to race until pushed to do so by students of colour. With unbeatable candidates—not because race was considered a priority—a few faculty of colour have been appointed, and they now take on the ominous struggle to counter the racist biases embedded in the conceptions of our various disciplinary canons.

The numbers have gradually shifted, but so has the opposition been strengthened. Our current faculty somewhat grudgingly approved a Department mission statement that names working towards ending social inequities, especially with respect to race, sex, and ability, as our goal. As I kept redrafting the statement, attempting to meet objections while keeping some sense of purpose, I began to see that any mention of equity through race, sex, etc. is taken as an ideological position; the reaction is automatic, knee-jerk opposition. I continue to have trouble understanding how it is possible to be in favour of social justice, in favour of equity, and be opposed to addressing the inequities arising out of these marginalizing practices. Instead of appreciating the major theoretical advances of anti-racist, feminist scholarship, instead of appreciating the devastating effects of socially constituted structural inequities, this work is depreciated as "an issue" and attached to the individual whose skin colour, gender, and/or sexual orientation it matches. So, for example, race gets constructed as Sherene's issue, and, in the liberal pluralist frame, it has no more legitimacy as an area of focus than any other interest.

Currently we are engaged in another battle over a new faculty appointment. In this one, anti-racist education is pitted against "adult learning" by those who feel we need an appointment in "adult learning and maturation." To be doing anti-racist work is not to be doing adult learning, certainly not working with *the significant* body of literature that addresses questions of how adults learn. Which adults, I ask you? How is it possible to address questions of adult learning and not attend to questions of race? That antiracist work can be marginalized as antithetical to

adult learning is precisely the point—this is why it is so necessary to change the exclusionary ways in which adult learning has been framed. Opponents argue that we'll never find someone who can fit the bill—that we will not find an antiracist scholar/ educator who is capable of teaching the "basic processes of adult education." That may be true, and if it is, how do you understand it? Does it not have something damning to say about the constitution of our graduate programmes, both in terms of what we teach, but also who we turn out? Isn't it an indictment of our field that we are not turning out anti-racist scholars, and that anti-racist scholarship is seen as irrelevant to adult education? Isn't it time to analyze how "our basic processes" work as discursive practices that perpetuate marginalization?

Poststructural, postmodern and postcolonial theorizations of the problematic of "difference" challenge apparently innocent concepts, like "the learner" and notions like "the principles of adult learning". This huge literature has upset most of the foundational notions that practice in adult education depend upon. I think of: 1) notions of the autonomous, individual learner, unmarked by race, gender, ability ... 2) the basis of experience as a source of knowledge, 3) the neutrality of knowledge and all the techniques we deploy to arrive at it—such as the facilitator, group process, and our ever-present flip charts—all our inclusionary practices that succeed in eradicating difference, ironically, in the name of 4) "empowerment", a concept that is also very problematic. These theories emphasize that what counts as knowledge is always an effect of power that conceals as much as it reveals. We are working to theorize difference in a way that does not eradicate conflict, but sees it as the necessary basis for change. To take the critiques of feminism and antiracism seriously means that not only do the faces who teach and attend our courses have to change, but the definition of what is to be learned as well. The *incorporation* of subjugated perspectives means conflict—too much is riding on the status quo for it not to (Goldberg). We can see how power circulates through the discursive practices of adult education in our Department's repeated efforts to block the hiring of someone who can specialize in anti-racist education. These practices make it possible to believe that to respond to one of the most crucial adult learning needs of our times is to destroy the Department of Adult Education. And it may, as those who are opposed to these changes abandon the Department.

At what cost survival? As long as we stay with inclusionary categories like adult education and lifelong learning, as long as we continue to celebrate possibility in the face of ever increasing impossibility, as long as we espouse a rhetoric of equity and refuse to name what is really at stake—we are implicated in the perpetuation of racism, hetero/sexism and ableism. We cannot have it all. Without difficult — even painful—choices, we inevitably—even if unintentionally—support programmes that will increase profits at the expense of the poor, most of whom are single mothers, members of ethnic, racial and sexual minorities, and/or disabled by a society that cannot be bothered to accommodate difference. What I've learned in my political work at OISE is that as long as you work with apparently neutral inclusive, pluralistic terms like adult learning, adult education, or lifelong learning—even generalizing concepts like critical or radical education—, the political commitment to anti-racist work consistently slips away. At this point in history, I feel it crucial that anti-racist work be placed front and centre in our programmes; I also think it's time that we acknowledge the normalcy of sexual difference and take seriously Queer critiques of heteronormativity, see how its assumptions pervade "our field"; and I wonder how our discursive practices contribute to the construction of the dis/abled as a drain on our society. The goal is to develop an integrative approach to these analyses and political struggles, one that is firmly grounded in an understanding of how these differences are effects of—as well as productive of—economic disparities that link the flow of capital, education, and human bodies.

To work towards social justice and prosper as an area of academic inquiry, I think we have to engage with others who are committed to working against the marginalizing practices of education, develop alliances and perhaps merge with those in cultural studies, feminist and anti-racist studies, lesbian and gay (Queer) studies, reconstituting the meaning of radical adult education (Razack). In this alliance our work as adult educators has something important to offer—a space for the critical analysis and interpretation of the broad array of educational practices and policies oriented toward adults, a space wherein it is possible to consider their differential effects,

how they frame im/possibility, for whom. With this in mind, I turn now to an analysis of lifelong learning and how it is deployed in two recent high level Ontario government-sponsored reports.

REFLECTIONS ON RECENT GOVERNMENT REPORTS

(talk given at OISE, April 27th, 1995)

Perhaps it is to the credit of adult educators that the Royal Commission Report, *For the Love of Learning*, makes frequent reference to lifelong learning. It's taken a generation for the lofty rhetoric of lifelong learning to seep into the social psyches of educational policy makers. Like many of you, I find it difficult to reconcile the endless talk about the learning society, even when it attends to issues of equity and access, with the devastating budgetary cuts that we face today—cuts that either explicitly or implicitly target programmes oriented towards the most marginalized in our society. In anger and despair, I wonder what it would take to break through this maddening contradiction between rhetoric and practice. What would it take for us to fight this avalanche of well-meaning words, to refuse their seduction, to insist upon results that end the endless march of racism, heterosexism and ableism, the endless reproduction of class differences through the very programmes that are intended to mediate them?

Difficult choices have to be made. We can no longer endorse utopian notions like the learning society or lifelong learning without recognizing that inevitably, when generalities such as these are posed as goals, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, simply because it is always power that will determine the flow of money. For example, on March 29, I heard one line on the CBC morning news announcing that all community-based training programmes had received notice of impending cutbacks. Since that time, there have been only two news stories, one on page 6 (March 31) and the other on page 9 (April 2), both in *The Star*. No mention in *The Globe*. In contrast, funding cuts to Harbourfront made front page news for days in both papers, was covered continuously on the CBC, and continues to be an intermittent news story with it quite evident that the decision will be reversed. There is no comparable public outcry, no one with the same stature as supporters of Harbourfront, to save community-based programmes. Where are we as adult educators in all of this? How do we mobilize behind the painful choices that must be made when it means that our programmes are at risk? As long as we allow ourselves to be seduced by a rhetoric of rights and unlimited possibility implicit in the notion of lifelong learning, as long as we follow the promise of dollars without insisting upon concrete actions that will offset harsh inequities, I posit that we are part of the problem; by wearing the mask of possibility, we endlessly mask the impossibility that is the lot of far too many in our country today.

The frequent references to lifelong learning in *The Love of Learning Report*, and its centring in the Premier's Task Force *Report on Lifelong Learning and the Economy*, do not encourage me. What interests me in these reports is the way in which the discourse of lifelong learning, replete as it is with the values of equity, is deployed so that we are left with the illusion that something has actually been accomplished.

The Royal Commission Report articulates "learning to learn" as one of five basic purposes of education. Ontario schools should "Foster a love of learning as the foundation for continuous lifelong learning, by nurturing the natural curiosity of students." (Vol.1, p.54) Who can argue with this as a goal? To link lifelong learning to the love of learning is to totally remove responsibility for provision, to remove responsibility for the inequities that lead children and adults away from educational possibilities in the first place. Out of a report of 631 pages, less than 2 and 1/2 are devoted to adult education. This in spite of the Commission's acknowledgement that 13% of all secondary students are over the age of 19, and that the average age of these adult students is 30. For all its rhetoric about lifelong learning, the Commission's commitment to adults is very narrowly defined in terms of secondary school completion. It argues that all adults should have access to a secondary school diploma, and that school boards should be given a mandate to provide these programmes (Vol.2, p.96). Based on the rationale that the education of children and youth will benefit if their parents are literate, the Commission endorses the *right* of all adults to a secondary school diploma. Significantly, it does not suggest that adults have the *right* to access ESL, which is at least as necessary to support the learning

of children whose parents are not fluent in written and spoken English. The Commission also fails to consider that high school completion programmes are the primary route available to adults of *all* educational levels who are not fluent enough in English, and/or whose degrees and credentials are devalued by the Canadian labour market. The Commission's main suggestion is that no new programmes be created until an inventory of existing programmes can be completed by the Ministry of Education and Training. This in spite of its recognition that adults are currently being turned away from programmes. Can it be that we have taught adults to love learning too much? It's noteworthy that the final volume of the report on implementation makes no mention of adult education.

The Commission's child-centred view of schooling tacitly denies the existence of 13% of its actual student population. Furthermore, the image of "the child" that lies behind the Report does not represent every child. While the Commission nods in the direction of equity, it does little to interrupt the centring of whiteness. Because of my research in the area of ESL, I am most struck by the Report's stand on instruction in languages other that English or French. In spite of research that demonstrates that children (and adults) will learn a second language better when they are literate in their first language, **and** that children perform better in school when they receive instruction in their first language, **and in** disregard to appeals to the Commission made by 3 Spanish community organizations to allow for the use of Spanish as a language of instruction, **and even** in disregard for the position of its Heritage Advisory Work Group, the Commission refuses to support first language instruction (Vol II, p. 106). Its argument is that "heritage" languages are to be permitted only as a transitional strategy. At the same time as the Commission repeatedly argues for the valorization of all languages and cultures, there can be no question as to what our future citizens must sound like, even if this means that their schooling performance, to say nothing of their lifelong learning, will be disadvantaged. What is the Commission so afraid of?

It disturbs me that it is so easy to get away with these contradictions. The Commission Report accomplishes this through a number of discursive tactics. One is the tactic of repetition. By paying repeated lip service to the values of equity, of lifelong learning, we are given the illusion that something has actually changed. Other tactics are those of displacement and disembodiment. There is a continuous shifting of equity concerns to "safer" strategies, like alternative access to high school diplomas, parent involvement, and teacher training. What gets erased here are questions of how these bodies are raced, sexed, and differently abled. Think of the communication difficulties facing parents (mothers?) who are not fluent in English; think of how students might benefit from teachers who are fluent in their first language; think of how the demand for high school completion programmes reflects the discrediting of credentials earned elsewhere, the limits of ESL programmes, etc. To take these complex dynamics into account would require substantive structural changes, and this is not what this report is about. The last tactic I want to mention is that of silence. Nowhere in this report is sexual orientation mentioned; homophobia and heterosexism are clearly not seen as problems. Dis/ability is mentioned, but only around questions of integration or separation in the years of formal schooling. Even gender is scarcely taken into account. Except for special sections where "difference" is addressed, the unmarked learner destined to become a lifelong learner is without race, sexuality or difference in ability—that is to say he/she is assumed to be white, able-bodied, heterosexual, English-speaking.

I want to conclude by making brief mention of the Report on *Lifelong Learning and the Economy*. This report takes up questions of access and accountability. It proposes a framework that will "measure how well our education and training systems are responding to the changing equity and access needs of Ontarians." While I'm pleased to see this connection between equity and accountability, I am leery of putting resources into developing a measure of something that's so obvious. The problem is not that we don't know whether our institutions are inequitable. It's that we've yet to make overcoming these inequities our number one priority, the place where we put our energies, and work together from our multiple locations to create a united front in this time of ever-increasing inequities. As long as we focus on the lifelong learner, an image that in its very inclusiveness does nothing to counter the harsh realities of non-inclusion, we will further inscribe

inequities. This is the relationship of rhetoric to practice—the possibility of doing nothing depends upon continuing to create the illusion that we are doing something. To do something we have to push ourselves to make hard choices. To promote the causes of equity and inclusion we have to explicitly tackle the dynamics of racism, heterosexism and ableism, both in our professional practice and in the programmes we mount.

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SO WHAT THE HELL IS GOING ON ANYWAY? THOUGHTS ON GRADUATE STUDY IN ADULT EDUCATION AT THE ONTARIO INSTITUTE FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION

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If you believe something, say so...no one will listen to you if you start every sentence with perhaps
(Moses M. Coady, 1949)

It's not my brother nor my sister, but it's me O Lord, standin' in the need of prayer
(Traditional Gospel Song)

....Social action on behalf of reasoned social change is the functional raison d'être of a modern adult education movement. Mere extension of personal knowledge on the part of individual adults does not constitute an adult education movement.
(Eleanor Coit and Eduard Lindeman, Adult Education Association, USA, 1952)

Our Contexts

There is a profound irony that we are meeting here today in Canmore, Alberta as University Professors of adult education at the same time as others are meeting in Toronto on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Canadian Adult Education Association. What is important for each of us to know is that precisely at the moment when the CAAE meets to celebrate its 60th Anniversary, it will also be meeting to decide on whether the organization will be able to survive. The Federal Government of Canada has written to say that the funding which they have received for 35 years will be cut totally and permanently. And similar cuts have been made to all the global education centres across Canada, to labour education, and to countless other social bodies. And the Provinces will cut further and the municipalities will cut further still. And we are in Alberta to talk about our survival in universities and others sit in Toronto, Montreal, St. John's, and Ottawa to talk about their futures. An others sit at home because their organizations and their jobs are already gone.

But new energies are flowing also. The most exciting adult education conference that I have been to in the past few years also took place in Alberta in August of last year. It was organized by one of the newest of our adult education bodies, the North American Alliance for Popular and Adult Education near Rocky Mountain House. There were some 170 activist educators from Quebec, English-dominated Canada, the United States, Mexico, and the First Nations of this continent. There were a few Professors there! But the most hopeful sign at that meeting were the workshops and caucuses. We're all Queer Here brought Gay and Lesbian adult educators together. Anti-racism was both a workshop and an overall theme of the event. Young people not only presented plays, but organized for seats on the coordinating committee. Native ceremonies opened the events and songs of struggle and celebration closed it. Environmental and trade union education networks met and were endorsed by the meetings. Strong streams of talent, vision, long term commitment, culture, courage, and survival skills were present and everyone there knew lots more at home who felt the same but could not raise the funds to get to the conference.

And the global contexts are equally eventful. The global market utopia continues to unroll sweeping the best and the brightest up into global networks of profitability and destruction in ways that Lenin and Henry Ford could not have even imagined. The battle is enjoined in fora such as the newly created World Trade Organization over the very ownership of ideas themselves through intellectual property rights discussions. But at the same time as the global

economic forces are moving forward, resistance and civil society organizations of all kinds are expanding in impressive new ways. Movements such as the Fifty is Enough, in reference to the 50 years anniversary of the so-called Bretton Woods world financial institutions are being successful in bringing broad public and political attention to problems with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. But the list of new global civil society initiatives is long.

CIVIUS, a new "world alliance on citizen participation" had an impressive first world assembly in Mexico in January of 1995. In March, 1995 the People's Alliance for Social Development and many other global networks of non-governmental organizations met in the context of the UN Social Summit in Copenhagen. In June of 1995, Halifax will play host to some 30,000 activists from all parts of the world as part of the P-7...the People's 7...a gathering in parallel to the G-7 of the most wealthy governments. In September women from quite literally every corner of the globe will gather in Beijing to compare perspectives and strategies about every aspect of life on this planet including adult education. It is clear that over the past few years, women and men through social movement and civil society structures have developed the skills and established the networks to work on a global scale. A global civil society is emerging to which we are already variously connected.

The final context which I want to mention and which will draw us more directly into the discussion about our Department of Adult Education and OISE is the changing Institutional context of OISE itself. OISE and the University of Toronto entered into an agreement to bring about the integration of OISE into the University of Toronto. Specifically this means the integration of the present Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto, which offers a B. Ed. degree and a wide variety of in-service courses, with OISE which is a research, field service, and graduate instruction institution. FEUT has some 1100 B. Ed. students and OISE some 3000 Masters and Doctoral students. And while the agreement doesn't take effect until July 1, 1996, the shape of the new structure to be called the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, will be determined by July 1, 1995.

The structure of the new OISE/UT is very much under debate. As we gather together here in Alberta, the OISE/UT Academic Integration Task Force is putting forward its preliminary ideas on the new structure. We don't know whether the present departmental structures will be maintained or not. The range of structural options varies from a smaller number of large departments through to a setup which would essentially leave the OISE Ontario Council of Graduate School approved graduate programmes intact. In addition, as the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto has evolved from a teacher college tradition, there is considerable institutional pressure to conform to a narrower schooling definition of education.

Department of Adult Education, OISE

Within the context of so many shifting contexts, it might be understandable if we were to simply try as a Department to just hold tight and wait until the storms subside to see where we are. After all we are the third largest Department in OISE with about 300 Master's and Doctoral degree students and are able to admit only half of all eligible candidates. But for a number of reasons, we have not chosen to stand pat.

There have been many changes in personnel in our department over the past few years because of hirings, retirements, and changes of focus. Don Brundage, Diana Ironside, and Ginny Griffin have retired. Alan Thomas is on 50 per cent for another year and James Draper is on part-time for at least another year. In addition Lynn Davie has moved most of his teaching into distance education and Barbara Burnaby has moved part of her teaching into a new Department of Language which is being created.

On the newer faculty member side, we have added over the past few years Marilyn Laiken who teaches in areas of organizational development; Serene Razack, who teaches in areas of anti-racism, adult education and the law, and post-colonial studies; Helen Lenskyj in areas of adult learning related to health, feminist studies, sexuality, sports, and leisure; Jack Quarter who teaches in areas of the democratic work place, cooperatives, and the social economy; Edmund O'Sullivan in global environmental and transformative learning studies; myself currently

teaching in participatory research, outline of the field of adult education, anti-oppression adult education and globalization and adult learning.

Our longer term continuing faculty and their interests include Kathleen Rockhill working in post-structural feminist perspectives on issues such as literacy; Angela Miles in social movement feminisms, community and global issues, and increasingly on policy issues; Allen Tough working increasing on areas related to adult education and future studies; Bill Alexander in the Developing Human Resources area; Joe Farrell, head of Comparative and International Development Education; David Wilson with special qualifications in comparative education and vocational education in an international context. In addition we are currently involved in an active search for a new faculty member who will teach in areas of individual and group learning from a critical feminist and anti-racism perspective.

With so many changes taking place within the Department, it was only a matter of time before we would have to sit down as a Department and come to some agreement about how we were going to carry on. The faculty retreat in December of 1994 marked the beginning of emerging new energies. We had the first of several difficult discussions about the kind of candidate we were looking for as a new faculty member. Should or could we find someone to cover some of the same areas of broadly humanistic individual and group learning that we have lost? Should we seek out someone with critical feminist and anti-racism research and experience, someone who could strengthen work in areas of diversity and difference? Just who defines adult education anyway? Who has the right to name the field of adult education? What lies at the core of our Department's offerings? These discussions were not easy, well organized or comfortable, but they have taken place and will continue to take place. They represent, in my opinion, some of the most substantial debates on the field of adult education that we have had within OISE over the past 4-5 years. And they have allowed us to move forward.

We decided to hold a day-long reflection on February 8 to share ideas about where we were going and about how to make sure that we survived the various institutional challenges. And in an effort to avoid the problems with abstract naming of the field of adult education which left us struggling for discursive victories, we decided to use an old adult education idea...starting where we were at. We spent our time looking positively at who we were as a collectivity, rather than who we were not. One of our colleagues, Helen Lenskyj described the results as follows:

> This exercise represented in a microcosm what has been going on in adult education circles nationally and internationally for many years. The "changing faces" of adult education are a reality in both the literal and figurative sense. Not only were the faces around the room different in terms of gender ratio, race and sexual preference than one would have found in a similar meeting at OISE one or two decades ago, but also our theoretical perspectives, our research passions, and the courses we teach are dramatically different. We reminded ourselves that change and growth are healthy, and that debate is at the centre of academic life and adult learning. Exploration does not mean lack of direction, and intellectual risk-taking does not signify being "at risk".

That day has been followed by a Departmental Town Hall which gave students, staff and faculty a chance to talk more about the future of the Department and new directions. And on the 27th of April, the Department hosted a public forum on "The New Politics of Adult Education" which attracted over 100 adult educators from outside OISE itself.

In addition we have produced a new faculty mission statement for the Department which has been approved by all of us and spells out as much as possible our current understandings. We have also been working hard in the various university bodies to make certain that adult education remains a central theme in the new OISE/UT structure. It is too early to tell whether we have succeeded on that account, but the indications to date are promising.

Obviously the process of renewal and revisioning within our Department is on-going and can be read in different ways, but I would say that:

1. the Department has made a clear decision to put equity at the centre of its mandate;

2. that in doing so we are aware that we are

making a choice which offers both risk and opportunity;

3. the leadership within the department has broadened substantially with virtually everyone taking some ideas forward;

4. we are working towards understanding how race, gender, age, ability, sexual preference, class, and relationships with nature are central to our understanding of all aspects of adult learning rather than marginal issues to be taken up on the side;

5. there is much work needed to make sure that analysis and knowledges from all parts of the world become as familiar to us and our students as the work of the people in this room;

6. we are deliberately reaching out and crossing boundaries of the academic, physical, and even spiritual communities.

I would like to end this paper with some thoughts that I shared first at our public conference on the "New Politics of Adult Education". Adult education is about our relationships, our communities, our places of work, our bio-regions, our political structures, our planet, and our universe. It is about us. It is about the kind of work we do. But above all it is about the right to imagine:

- To imagine a context where we are each respected for who we are;
- To imagine a life of sufficiency and health;
- To imagine that everyone would have support to learn throughout their lives;
- To imagine that all our children could live without abuse;
- To imagine that violence or the fear of violence in the lives of all women and children could decline;
- To imagine that race could be a code for creativity and contribution rather than a filter which excludes;
- To imagine relationships of harmony and rhythm with the earth;
- To imagine that differences in ability be cherished for the gifts they make possible;
- To imagine that we have the capacity to transform our lives;
- To imagine that we have the courage to speak.

But to be able to work in a field of study which is about the right to imagine, we need to accept some quite simple and basic notions:

1. Things are not OK the way they are;
2. The current global economic machine is killing humans, all other forms of life and puts the survival of the planet itself at risk;
3. The ways in which we think constructs our lives;
4. Our lives (including our race, gender, abilities, age, class, and relations with the earth) construct the ways in which we think; and
5. The seeds of a transformed world exist within our communities, our social movements, our locations of resistance, and even within this room.

THE CRITICAL JUNCTURE: COMMITMENT, PROSPECTS, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN THE ACADEMY

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Foundational Principle

Who would be so naively committed in these times of slippery postmodern sensibilties to talk about a foundational principle, let alone a critical juncture? Certainly, this paper does not seek to be needlessly provocative in its concern for the plight of university-based adult education programs. The academy nearly everywhere we look is in deep trouble, faculties of education and extension (extra-mural) departments are prime targets for "downsizing," and academic adult education seems to be fluttering submissively towards extinction. So why break a butterfly by dwelling (Nietzschean style) on its vulnerable condition, its pathetic flight, in face of the power-brokers' unrelenting agenda to cramp its style?

Rather, I would like to lead our discussions (engender a discourse?) from here onto the *possibilities* of preserving a creative space for the enhancement, rather than degradation, and study of adult education within the academy. I want to leave these meetings in Canmore with some sense that we are talking about good "creative" space which we should struggle to preserve. Failing this sense of commitment, provocative assertions about the shortcomings of academic adult education must be viewed as being right on target. But they would be useless gestures. Who cares to break a butterfly when a leonine defence of its creative space would counter the prevalent submissive tendency towards extinction?

As for a foundational principle on which to base a more robust defence of the territory, I think it is yet again appropriate to invoke the conviction of Thomas Hodgskin (co-founder of the London Mechanics Institute in 1823) that in a genuinely democratic (free) society, it is necessary for the education of ordinary men and women be in their own hands—not those of their rulers (Halévy, 1956, p. 87). What this conviction implies is that ordinary men and women already have the innate capacities to determine their learning needs and to structure collectively a relevant educational provision for the people. Hence, the task for a critically informed theory and practice of adult education is to show how these innate capacities are thwarted by prevailing political and social forces, and then to engage with emancipatory pedagogical initiatives. In any event, Hodgskin's unfulfilled project for the education of a free people remains as pertinent today as it did when he first made his pronouncement over 160 years ago.

A clearer sense of what is meant by an emancipatory practice of adult education that is still worth fostering in a university context can be understood from the distinction Raymond Williams made between a view of adult education as an inevitable consequence of social change—through which adult education is commodified as "the bottle with a message in it"—and a larger ambition to envision adult education as central to the social change process itself (Williams, 1990, p. 157). It is the latter version—a quest for social justice in a (post?) modern world where the disparities between the rich and the poor continue to escalate at an alarming rate—that must claim the commitment of any critical theory and practice of adult education still intent on maintaining a presence in the academy.

The Problem Is Real

In these meetings we are concerned not so much with the educational needs of various constituencies out there, as we are with the *crisis of relevance* for university-based adult educators. And we are right at this critical juncture to focus on what it is we should do as adult educators of the academy.

It is enlightening for us to accept that many of the

off-campus constituencies who are the objects of our concern (from the so-called "marginalized" groups to business management organizations) already possess a far clearer sense of their needs than helpful adult educators, bent on facilitating and mentoring others, have of their own interests. In this regard, academic adult educators of varying commitments—the critical adult educators ("let us critique the increasing commodification of everyday life, illuminate oppressive patriarchal practices, and celebrate *difference*"), the liberal progressives ("let us be *mentors*"), and the pundits of HRD and self-directed learning ("let us *facilitate* workplace learning via *andra-gogy*")—share the same problem at this time. **Academic adult educators from each of these tendencies have more to learn from their off-campus constituencies than they can offer to them**. It is crucial for this understanding to be taken to heart. And clearly there is a distinction here between learning **from** and learning **about,** the latter tendency being a pre-occupation which has burdened professionalized adult education with the psychobabble of adult development theory.

At the same time as learning from their particular circumstances, however, we need to be cautious about *idealizing* off-campus constituencies. While their everyday experience can tell us about the inadequacy and repressiveness of prevailing social structures, these constituencies also play a role in preserving status quo interests. For example, there is a tendency within critical pedagogy to idealize deviant and marginalized groups whose innate conservatism, level of consciousness, mirrors—and often reinforces—that of law enforcement and political forces ranged against them. The lived experience of social deviants and " the wretched of the earth" (Fanon, 1988) points to where the moral and political commitments of a critically informed practice of adult education should lie, but it is folly to suppose that, in the absence of a conscious raising politically motivated pedagogy, the organization to effect progressive social change will emerge spontaneously from marginalized groups. It is true that members of such groups typically act out gestures of defiance and resistance to status quo arrangements, but individualistic expressions of deviancy and spontaneous acts of violence provide *reasons for* sustaining conventional arrangements for the enforcement of law and order.

These are concerns that need to be taken up more systematically within critical adult education practice if it is to have a political edge. The immediate claim to be made here, however, is that the relevance of university-based adult education requires in general, along with a willingness to learn from off-campus constituencies, a determination to engage in political initiatives informed by academic work which stems from this off-campus experience. Failing this dual commitment, and a strong sense of its own *agency*, the bell surely tolls for the academy of adult education.

Even as this paper is being written, one learns that the graduate program in adult education at Virginia Tech is being phased out while the administration at the University of Regina has just gutted the Extension (Extra-Mural) Division. *Signs* of the times. (And our pomo sensibilties might want us to leave it at that). We are depressed, resigned, submissive; no longer surprised or outraged. In the wake of the ideological onslaught on publicly funded education at all levels, we virtually concede that cut-backs in marginal academic programs are inevitable. So what hopes can we sensibly muster on behalf of university-based adult education in these times? This is the question that needs to be answered—yes, ANSWERED—at Canmore. No more obliqueness or nicely nuanced prevarication.

For the most part, then, this paper is addressed to those of us in the academy of adult education who already claim an affinity with the commitments of critical adult education. Now that we understand, what is to be done?

The apprehendings and suggestions in this paper are intended to convey that only through systematic discussion on what we are about and what is to be done can academically-based adult educators make the case as to why their vocational commitments are central to the re-structuring processes taking place in the modern university. For it is important to understand that the present and future prospects for adult education in the academy are vitally connected to the destiny of our universities.

The British experience is instructive for us here. (And if the following remarks are somewhat too impressionistic and widely drawn, no doubt UK participants at these sessions will provide corrective comments to bring us back on course). Until the

Thatcher era academic studies in adult education, and the extra-mural departments to which they were closely connected, operated within a relatively cossetted and exclusive university system. Yet, while a legacy of critical and sociological discourse afforded a more widespread understanding of emerging ideological developments, the British academy was unable to mount any effective resistance to the neo-conservative onslaught on publicly funded education even in the post-secondary sector. (A Conservative institution like the House of Lords did a more commendable job of countering Thatcherite interventions in the universities than the academy managed for itself). The resigned attitude of senior tenured U.K. academics to the situation was nicely represented by the Chair of an international philosophy conference held in England at the height of the Thatcherite ascendancy. Professor Phillips-Griffith announced to the press that "philosophy boils no cabbages." To their credit , a number of younger British philosophers, believing in the relevance of their scholarly commitment and their need for jobs, raised questions concerning the veracity and political naivete of the philosopher king's careless statement which, nevertheless, provided endorsement for a pragmatic ideological view on the redundancy of certain university disciplines. In this context, the scramble to save tenured jobs and secure acceptable redundancy payments understandably took precedent over the organization of struggles to preserve academic programs at risk.

The public protest organized among Oxford dons to block the award of an honourary doctorate to Margaret Thatcher tells us something about the effectiveness of resistance to be derived from the academy in the face of a hostile political ideology. In terms of radical Thatcherite politics which managed to provoke and defeat the influential National Union of Miners and its resourceful leader, the carping reactions from the academy appear ludicrous. Liberals and social democrats, well represented in the academy, are now inclined to believe that Arthur Scargill (the NUM leader) was right in his assessment of the neo-conservative agenda even though, at the time of the miners' strike, a distaste among middle-class academics and intellectuals to his militancy added weight to the government's well organized demonization campaign against him.

A widespread aversion for what is now termed "political correctness" (when one looks around the academy for those who are supposed to exemplify "political correctness", they turn out to be thin on the ground), permits the academy to indulge an inclination to remain above the fray. And this relatively apolitical stance prevails even though the consequences for all but the most prestigious universities are well understood. These consequences are already apparent from the remarkable degeneration in the quality of British university education.

It is from this ideological perspective that what is left of liberal and socially progressive programs in university-based adult education have to be viewed if a moral and political stance against the market-driven ethos is to emerge. So far, survival of university-based adult education in these times seems to have relied largely on entrepreneurial panache and acquiescence to marketplace ideology. Little attention has been given in academic discourse to the politics of resistance which undoubtedly occurs to some extent.

Although circumstances around the fate of academic adult education in the wake of the radical assault on all publicly funded services is starkly apparent in the British experience, the same ideological tendency and absence of resistance are clearly discernible in what is happening to universities in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the USA, and elsewhere. The 'down-sizing' trend has assumed international proportions and any systematic resistance would have to take this level of pervasiveness into account. By now it is also clear that the academy, and hence university-based adult education, cannot look to the current political agendas of liberal and social democratic political parties for any significant change in the fundamental restructuring agendas for education set in motion within the context of a neo-conservative ideology. Restructuring is inevitable and needed. The question for university-based adult educators at this critical juncture is whether we can muster the political will to influence the process. There is an alternative. We become on-campus carpetbaggers for the market-driven concept of education and hope that our redundancy for that role does not become too quickly perceived. (Business schools can effectively handle HRD and individual departments can manage their own distance education initiatives).

From a critical perspective on adult education, it should be clearly understood that the significant influence of a business ethos on the universities, as with other levels of formal and informal education, is inevitable. It is futile to lament over the growing influence of business on out educational institutions. (And there are needed improvements in efficiency and accountability that come with a business-like approach). While the trend is irreversible, however, its trajectory is not of necessity steered entirely according to a corporate agenda.

If the business corporate viewpoint appears to be exerting an over-riding influence at this juncture, it is only in the absence of a systematic counter-discourse from educators on what the connection between our educational institutions and the world of employed work should be about. Rather than just witnessing, in resigned fashion, the current demise in the significance of our publicly funded institutions, critically informed adult educators, especially in the academy, should accept the new global economic imperatives as a challenge to struggle for a space in the reconstruction of curriculum around education and work. It does not simply have to go the way of management oriented HRD.

Adult Education, Inc., Critical Theory, and "Postmodern" Diversions

The literature of academic adult education in the U.K., as previously indicated, has until recently expressed an easier familiarity with sociological and political analyses than is the case with the North American academic discourse on the modern practice of adult education. This professionalising discourse has been shaped by a psychologistic emphasis on the individual learner, and is exemplified in the pedagogical methods that have emerged under the rubric of andragogy. Now that the andragogical consensus begins to become unravelled in the North American context, it is interesting to note how its pedagogical trappings—self-directed learning, competency-based instruction, human resource development—are being avidly adopted in Britain and elsewhere, and in academic settings which would have once scorned the positivistic shallowness of andragogy's underlying assumptions. In any event, the more sophisticated understanding of political and social forces impinging on adult education, which is apparent in the British literature, has not been consequential as a basis for resistance to ideological forces antithetical to publicly funded adult education. The same goes for andragogy, though it is readily accommodated to the corporate entrepreneurial ethos which has virtually overtaken adult education on an international scale. Adult Education, INC.—as "the bottle with a message in it"—will prevail whether or not it has a presence in the academy.

As for the critical turn in the North American academic adult education arena, it represented at the onset a growing dissatisfaction with forms of technical rationality which sustained the positivistic approach to research and practice in an unremitting focus on the characteristics of the individualized learner. Hence, the efficacy of the andragrogical model and the authoritative discourse on self-directed learning were brought into question.

If an unduly heavy reliance on the work of Jurgen Habermas indicates a virtual absence of any previous engagement with the larger legacy of critical theory, the Habermasian influence on critical adult education discourse has at least focused our attention on the problem of agency—on the role of the adult educator and on the capacities of ordinary men and women to determine their own education. This normative level of concern for the problem of agency is scarcely discernible in contemporary academicized Marxist studies. In any event, critical theory in North American (meaning the USA and Canada in this context) adult education research has not only served to illuminate the psychologistic shortcomings of the andragogical model, it also sets out prospects for a rationally grounded normative discourse around what adult education should be about in these times. It is from this understanding of critical theory as a touchstone for practical decision-making about what adult educators should be and do—how we should put ourselves into practice—that its potential for adult education in the academy derives. This understanding does not mean that we can look to any critical theory for clear-cut solutions and pedagogical methods as a wholesale replacement for andragogy, for example, or for a decisive psychological fix on individual development à la "perspective transformations." Rather, a commitment to the larger legacy of critical theory, even via the now overworked project of Jurgen Habermas, provides the basis for a rational

discourse on **what** is meant by an emancipatory pedagogy and **why** an emancipatory pedagogy **should** be central to any adult education praxis. Hence, in terms of critical theory, and not only in the Frankfurt School or Habermasian tradition, it makes sense to envisage the (re)construction of an emancipatory theory and practice of adult education from a *reasoned foundational discourse*.

It is from this critical perspective that the deconstructionist intent of postmodernist thought in academic adult education should be viewed. No doubt the postmodernist tendency has provided us with useful insights into the professionalising agenda of andragogy and the commodification of adult education practice and research. Further, the moral force and political potential of postmodernist thought are clearly discernible in a feminist critique of the way patriarchal and sexist attitudes beset modern adult education practice as well as pervading society in general. Michel Foucault's work, in particular, reinforces a critical appraisal which highlights relevant connections between pedagogical strategies stemming from self-directed learning, competency-based instruction, and human resource development, and the maintenance of prevailing relationships of power. From a postmodern orientation these favoured, supposedly empowering, pedagogical orientations are revealed as aspects of a system of surveillance and control supporting vested interests intent on professionalising institutionalized adult education while deskilling the work of teachers and students (Foucault, 1977; Collins, 1988).

By means of *deconstruction* the *classical* postmodernist tactic (à la Nietzsche and Kierkegaard) defies all allegedly authoritative criteria which purport to guide how we should understand, describe, and act in the everyday world and, hence, how we should go about defending and reconstructing our institutions. In its concern for the empowerment of "other voices" and its insistence on according equal legitimacy to many points of view, postmodernist discourse privileges *difference* and a relativistic outlook. Thus, while it offers an analytical project for unsettling the dominant discourses of the status quo, postmodernism rejects any aspiration for deriving rational grounds on which to reconstruct a theory and practice of adult education.

Leaving aside the sillier manifestations of contemporary postmodern discourse exemplified in Braudillard's (1991) insistence that the Gulf War was not a war—just the signifier of a nonevent, mere representation—the preoccupation with post-modernist tendencies has now become dysfunctional in terms of *making the case* for an emancipatory pedagogy within our institutions. The serious problem with artful deconstructionist play around signification and representation is that it *plays* right into the hands of a conservative ideology proclaiming 'the end of history' and 'the new world order'. The end of history discourse and President Bush's new world order are already history, yet the political ideology from which these tenets emerge is still on a roll. And it is rolling back the progressive gains for public education in earlier decades, overwhelming simultaneously any *systematic* initiatives for reconstituting a modern practice of adult education in line with democratic principles to which most adult educators are still committed.

In terms of strategy (getting things done), there are times when a misplaced pre-occupation for the politics of difference and representation of "other (marginalized) voices" gets in the way of an emancipatory discourse. For instance, in the absence of a Jewish man or a woman of color, would it be inappropriate to begin a critical discourse and organize against the sudden emergence of a fascist, racialist, initiative? The evasiveness that comes from refusing to act collectively on a just cause unless some notion of adequate representation is realized can be seriously disabling. In this regard, a critical perspective begins to highlight ways in which a relativistic, temporizing, postmodern discourse lends itself to deterministic fascist and neo-conservative politics. The connection is of immediate relevance to academic adult educators whose work is informed by critical theory, particularly in light of the mounting hostile critiques by far right wing German intellectuals which are intended to deconstruct the emancipatory project of Jurgen Habermas along with the legacies of Marx and Freud.

For these reasons, attempts to effect a rapprochement between a relativizing postmodern discourse and critical theory, envisaging a rational basis for emancipatory pedagogy, should be viewed with scepticism. By the same token a distinction needs to be made between the postmodernist privileging of

difference and a *reasoned* identification with the compelling interests of oppressed groups who, collectively, still constitute about 90% of the world's population.

While acknowledging the brilliant insights of postmodern thought in regard to the quest for an emancipatory pedagogy within the academy, it is now time to affirm that these insights are accessible from the wider legacy of critical theory. For critical theory, however, the commitments illuminated by such insights are not just "commitments for the moment" (à la mode). Rather, they form part of an ongoing struggle in the making of history which we now know is not at an end.

Modern versions of postmodernist expression, which tend to emerge most vividly in art and literature, have been for some time (most clearly from the time of Nietzsche and Kierkegaard) a creative dimension of the ongoing project of modernity from which it cannot escape. Postmodernist thought and the insights it affords are ultimately a manifestation of dialectical reasoning. Nietzsche and Kierkegaard (and their modern epigone) remain connected to Hegel. It is the courageous commitment to convictions of a Nietzsche (in the absence of an authority—"God is dead) or a Kierkegaard (in the necessity to make a "leap of faith"), not their rejection of rationality, that academic adult educators should be emulating in these times.

Ironically, just as more academic adult educators are beginning to tail the current wave of postmodernist thought, there are *signs* that postmodern sensibilities are on the wane in literary criticism (from which the current wave of postmodernism emerged), social theory, and popular culture. A renewed interest in unified themes in place of fragmentary narratives is emerging. With the production of box office hits like the "The Lion King," "Pocahontas," and "Rob Roy," Hollywood may be closer to the real mood of our times than the academic exponents of "pomo." No doubt there is much for us to criticize in the philistinism of these Hollywood "potboilers." Yet they do refer us once again to the unifying moral and political force that can still emerge from confident leadership, from reaching for some clear-cut notion about what constitutes a just community, and from steady resistance to a relativizing discourse which is resigned to a fragmented society of lonely people.

At this critical juncture, then, it becomes important to challenge the irrationality, relativism, and fracturing effects of postmodernist tendencies. The preferred task should be to reconstruct not deconstruct a modern practice of adult education. This project calls for a more carefully nuanced critical discourse on adult education, but first the conviction that a rational case for defending the academic locations from which such a discourse can be developed will have to be embraced.

On Political Correctness and Political Commitment

In the wake of attacks on the so-called politically correct, it has become more difficult for academics and intellectual activists to advance a credible case in defence of progressive gains made in the past for publicly funded education, for social services, and for the interests of non-privileged people in general. The intimidatory effects of PC were clearly intended by the right-wing idealogues around President Bush who first invented the term to stigmatize liberal progressive educators. The early disparaging response to the PC phenomenon as just another American indulgence (most typically the case in the British press and among intellectuals) subsequently died away. With constant reminders from the media about the fate of the former bureaucratic socialist political economies and China's turn to western style capitalism, there is a shying away, even among radical progressives, from any theorized progressive politics of conviction for fear that such commitment will be contemptuously characterized as Leninist vanguardism. While a postmodern politics of difference is more widely acceptable than PC in academic and intellectual circles, it takes a Nietzschean sense of conviction to claim that an aspiration for political and theoretical correctness is no bad thing in these times.

The attacks on political correctness, and fear of being stuck with the label, also tells us something about the widespread disillusionment with politics in general. This negative view does not augur well for the eventual realization of a genuine participatory democracy which presupposes public involvement in the political process. Accordingly, the modern practice of adult education, and university-based adult education

in particular, has an opportunity to assume the central role in (re)creating a radical discourse of political engagement. A relevant way to approach this task is to be more forthright and systematic in devising strategies to politicize adult education itself.

Realpolitik: What Can Be Done?

There is a depressing tendency among critically informed educators, and among other contemporary intellectual activists, to become preoccupied with the practical impossibility of realizing the emancipatory potential of their theoretical commitments and political inclinations in the foreseeable future. Many are virtually paralysed by a sense that the conditions needed for genuinely democratic decision-making, and for participatory learning groups that at least anticipate this aspiration, are nowhere accessible. Further, an overpowering sense that any progressive, potentially emancipatory, initiatives will be inevitably coopted and commodified (Adult Education, Inc.—Adult Education as HRD) has precluded any systematic discourse illuminating strategies for the defence of what we value and what we would like to stand for. (Political correctness notwithstanding). Hence the resigned submission to the current ideology around cut-backs.

Rather than commit to the vitality of political struggle (after all, liberalism has bitten the dust and few dare to stake an intellectual reputation on the continuing relevance of the socialist project), we prefer to cling to the wreckage. This inclination would not be so pathetic if it was accompanied by a sense of urgency regarding what is needed just to keep us afloat.

As an overall counter-hegemonic strategy, it makes sense in these times to struggle on behalf of publicly funded education and against privatization measures. For adult education in the academy this means an unabashed commitment to the necessity of political manoeuvring and the forging of alliances to consolidate and strengthen our position. (Clearly, this form of commitment has to be separated out from conventional petty academic politics surrounding career aspirations and professorial egos).

The sharp distinction many academic adult educators have wanted to draw between their field of practice and research and teacher education (andragogy versus pedagogy?) has never made good sense. And more recently, at a time when there is a need for alliances among those who recognize the importance of publicly funded education, the distinction has become decidedly dysfunctional. Not only does it alienate other educators who attach primary importance to the schooling provision, the cultivated exclusiveness around this distinction means that adult educators deny themselves the opportunity of playing a key role in mediating the interests of school and community. It is in this light that an 'above the fray' deschooling critique should be confronted in the academy of adult education.

Fortunately, the widespread adoption of a concern for the notion of lifelong education with regard to curriculum development and teacher education allows academic adult education to influence the current discourse on schooling. In any event, these are times in we can no longer afford to indulge adult education professors who harbour a spurious notion that adult education can divorce itself from a concern for schooling practices and teacher preparation.

All right, some of us are already engaged in institutional realpolitik of the kind outlined here. So the point to be made is that we now need to adopt a systematic discourse on the politics of survival as central to university-based adult education. This move entails being clear about what it is that is worth saving and what political strategies make sense. Failing such a resolve, the theorizing of adult education from the academy becomes a useless or merely self-serving gesture. And we deserve to go under.

In addition to bolder initiatives towards politicizing university-based adult education, setting an example to other besieged sectors of the university, there is an immediate need to establish sensible links with off-campus groups concerned with issues of social justice. So this suggestion is scarcely new? Well here (it bears repetition) is the new wrinkle: we must work with these groups on their terms. It is university-based adult education which is currently faced with the problem of relevance, not the off-campus counter-hegemonic (popular education?) groups with whom we should seek alliances. We learn more about what an emancipatory theory and practice should be about by engaging with them on their terms, providing any expertise we have when it is requested. This

approach, however, does not deny us the possibility, or responsibility, of assuming a leadership role.

The form of engagement stipulated here does not entail, in fact it precludes, the laying on of condescending and liberalistic pedagogical notions around empowerment, facilitating, mentoring, and perspective transformations. By becoming involved with constituencies concerned with issues of social justice on the terms they specify for us, and leaving behind preconceived notions about what we should do for them, we encounter in a direct way those conditions and ideological forces which get in the way of ordinary peoples' capacities to determine their own educational needs. At the same time we educate ourselves about the realpolitiks required to sustain the space for a critically informed practice of adult education within the academy which can be influential in the struggles over what interests will be served in the reconstruction of our universities. It is at this critical juncture—at the meeting place for the university community and off-campus groups—that counter-hegemonic adult education can take place. Here is where academic adult education discovers its relevance as we put ourselves into practice, shorn of andragogical trappings but with a sharper political analysis of what is needed in the university community and in off-campus settings.

Liberal academics, even perhaps some of those whose department have been swept aside in the current wave of institutional down-sizing, will no doubt object to any concept of a politicized university. However, the fact of the matter is that the liberal idea of the university has never really existed except in the experience of a very privileged section of the population for whom an admittedly high quality of relatively detached study was accompanied by an assurance that it provided an entrée to highly rewarded and influential careers.

In Britain, with the recent "promotion" of the polytechics to the status of third rate universities, a potentially creative context for a more emancipatory practice of adult education in the post-secondary sector was lost. For it was in the polytechnics that organized protest among young adults (mainly from working class and second generation immigrant underclass backgrounds) against cut-backs in education found its most plausible expression.

Given the inability of university-based adult education to develop a politics of resistance to the Thatcherite neo-conservative agenda, it is not surprising that the counter-hegemonic "Birmingham School" of cultural studies, despite its origins in the adult education work of Richard Hoggarth and Raymond Williams, developed apart from academicized adult education discourse. This observation is not intended to privilege British cultural studies as an exemplar for a more politicized theory and practice of adult education from the vantage point of the campus. (Although now that it is decline in Britain, "Birmingham School" cultural studies, along with a postmodernist discourse and an academicized version (Johnson, 1983) of Gramscian critical theory which informs it, is becoming the 'flavour of the month' in North American critical studies on education).

What is instructive for us about the relevance of cultural studies as a way of exploring social learning processes in today's society through the media is that it has been unable to politicize effectively within the university community and forge significant links with off-campus community groups in line with its moral and political commitments. Clearly, critical understanding is not enough. Despite its insightful work on class, race, and gender issues, cultural studies as probably the most promising example of a critically informed theory and practice of adult education does not afford adult educators of the academy concerned with an emancipatory pedagogy the way to engage politically with the needs of the present generation of younger adults.

From a critical perspective university-based adult educators understand well enough what is at stake. The question is whether we are prepared to make the necessary wager on political engagement called for by this critical understanding. Shall we go out with a whimper, or do we fight for the turf?

And really why realpolitik? These are times to embrace the importance of being earnest.....about romancing adult education again. The space for passionate educators will have to be retaken.

Concluding Remarks

Experience as an adult educator, former business teacher, and educational critic within an academic

setting, and involvement with off-campus groups (including prisoners, school teachers, First Nations people, and political activists) has led me to the conclusion that the survival of adult education as relevant location for theory and practice in a university setting necessitates at this time four vitally connected levels of commitment:

1) a willingness to work with, and to learn from off campus groups for whom the need for social justice in a democratic society is a central concern.

2) a determination to legitimize and enlarge upon the political dimension of adult education in the academy and in off-campus settings.

3) a recognition that adult education should assume a key role in teacher preparation and in the contemporary discourse on schooling practices.

4) an understanding that adult edcuation must engage in a critical discource around work and education.

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ORGANIC INTELLECTUALS OF THE STATE AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN THE UNIVERSITY

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I want to do three things in this paper: reflect on our struggle at NIU to develop ideological space in our graduate program, the problems of being a space maker including faculty colleagues and university administrators as barriers to space making; and the concept of a culture and education project.

Last year Glenn Smith and I presented a paper at AERC on twenty years of our graduate program in adult education (Cunningham and Smith). I for one was inhibited by the prescribed format and the context of **the research** conference. Somehow, it seems more possible here to put out ideas for discussion which are tentative and not as clearly formulated.

The NIU Struggle - 1976 Forward

Our starting points were urban, race, and class but we were naive in our analysis. We had a ten year project which located us in an "extended campus" in Chicago. We worked with teachers of poor adults many of whom were African Americans and Latina(o)'s. We, in Chicago, mainly developed our space around community based education and recruitment of African and Latino Americans into graduate study. The critical turn occurred through our students and our experience. Students, many with roots in the sixties, demanded critical content and posture. For myself, it was students, one faculty colleague (Marcelo Zyrzinski), my experience with community based organizers, and the International Council for Adult Education that made me more self conscious in my critique.

There was freedom and funds in the first ten years to support progressive students and a Chicago base 65 miles from campus. This maximized our abilities to develop relevant curriculum because we were in daily contact with our larger urban and smaller progressive community on a daily basis. As long as we dealt individually with students and made variations in courses not programs we experienced few problems.

However several events coincided historically which brought out the guardians of the state: 1) We lost our grant in 1986 because of our politics (about $400,000 a year); 2) we gained a department chair who wanted change; 3) we began to more visibly graduate marginalized persons, and 4) our curriculum was becoming more critical, inclusive, and sociological.

Our students also became more visible on campus, critiquing women's studies (too Eurocentric), Black Studies (too patriachal), graduate school (resource allocation issues). The Africentric discourse which united Black Students was considered inappropriate by some university faculty; the African American annual student conference (much like a caucus) was at first criticized by some of our own faculty and later not seen as a priority by most European American adult education faculty and students.

A "War of Attrition" ensued with the graduate school ostensibly over standards, externalized programs and curricular issues. However, we had externalized the masters programs for our first twelve years with no critique by the Graduate School and we had concrete evidence on our student's scholarly activity which compared favorably with other programs in the university, but these **hard data** were trivialized.

One can never put a finger on racism in the United States so we will never know how much the standards issue was a race issue or to what extent the visibility of our African American and Latino student's critical discourse affected the critique of our program. Clearly some of the problems for adult education came from the audacity of our Department Chair to

create innovation in highly creative bureaucracy challenging ways. And we as a faculty have to assume some responsibility because our student load was heavy and not only did we have students who were not impressed with "hoopery" and whom we had to go to the mat for bureaucratically but also we missed some warnings of trouble because of focusing only on our own work. The escalation of this passive-aggressive opposition by the graduate school turned on memos: What is adult education? Is this topic appropriate for adult education? Who will be on the committee if this student pursues this topic? We learned to put "adult education" into the titles of dissertations or write a memo defending such topics as, "Cross-cultural Teacher Effectiveness: Case Studies from Thailand" or "Learning in the Community: Urban Native American's Intervention in the Educational Policies of their Children."

On the home front, an uneasy truce was struck between the Human Resource Development (HRD) persons/curriculum and those trying to develop a progressive critique. HRD (and its cousin continuing professional education) laid out the class issues. Working with the poor and undereducated and the development of the critique of workplace education was left up to those willing to exist on soft money and few places for employment. HRD enveloped graduate programs and the Commission of Professors. Graduate students, including marginalized persons, learned uncritically to spin their web of double loop learning, empower workers, and sculpt the learning organization. The creation of elaborative conceptualizations for training workers to help industry increase profits and to help the "down sized" or "right sized" workforce increase productivity became the unquestioned norm. We went in business with instructional technology and the business school to do HRD and HRM (human resource management). At the same time we had some successes on the left. We did the seemingly impossible in recruiting marginalized persons into our program. Clearly race and ethnicity represent only one repressive social construction. But with diversity one does get a dialogue. How well we accomplished this goal is both a function of admissions and graduation. Here is what we accomplished.

What is the Role of Progressive University Gate Keepers?

NIU is a second tier institution and by definition has as its role producing functionaries for the state. However, one could also define NIU as a public university which, in the long tradition of egalitarianism in "American" higher education, is a structure for democratizing education. We chose the latter conceptualization. We admitted on average between 15 and 30 students a year (7-40 range) between 1974 and 1994. In 1988, 89 and 90 we started three doctoral cohorts. Admission data are shown in Table I with the cohort data broken out in 5 year intervals.

The program grew quickly from 1976 forward and currently enrolls 239 active doctoral and 186 masters students (total of 433). The program is one of four faculties in one of four departments in the College of Education. In 1978 adult education represented 11% of the department credit hour production; by 1991 that number increased to 19%, adult education enrolled 43% of the department's majors and awarded 21% of the 107 doctoral degrees from the department in 1991 and has maintained that level of activity (NIU).

TABLE I Doctoral Students Admissions

5 year period	Traditional	Cohort	Total
1974-78	77	----	77
1979-83	124	----	124
1984-88	103	30	133
1989-93	81	69	150

The first African American doctoral student was recruited in 1976 and the first international student in 1978. Each year from 1976 to 1988 (except 1986) one to six U.S. marginalized students were admitted. But it wasn't until the start of the cohorts that this number expanded dramatically. (Cunningham, 1991a)

The Role of Innovation

The NIU graduate programs in education, according to Smith, The Department Chair is held hostage by seven flawed assumptions perpetrated in the late nineteenth century under the ideal of meritocracy:

> (1) that the degree will be completed in thirty-six to forty-eight months of fulltime study; (2) that graduate study in education should be and is a full time endeavor; (3) that study should commence immediately at the conclusion of the baccalaureate; (4) that a tuition waiver and enough income to pay for a dorm room or equivalent efficiency apartment and a monastic food allowance will sustain the three years of study (because candidates will postpone acquiring any dependents until they finish at age twenty-five or twenty-six); (5) that the small number of assistantships available will be sufficient to produce the requisite number of doctoral graduates; (6) that highly qualified candidates can be recruited nationally through such publications as the *Chronicle of Higher Education*; and (7) that applicants can be screened effectively using the Graduate Record Examination (GRE). (Smith, p.2).

Instead, argued Smith most education majors came from a working class or lower middle class background and must work while pursuing a graduate degree, usually start later (mean age 40 for doctoral degree completion), spend 7.9 years on average at NIU completing their doctorate, and are generally commuting students going part time. (Smith, p. 3).

For these reasons Smith was interested in developing cohort programs with pre-set curricula, group support, a schedule to accommodate the part time student, and place emphasis on leadership and policy studies. Smith's views fit well with some of the adult education faculty who reasoned that group cooperative models of education were more in tune with the cultural proclivities of some marginalized groups, that making programs convenient to the student promoted access for marginalized persons, and developing curricula that was inclusive of a wide spectrum of knowledges promoted a more critical and lively analysis in the class room.

The adult education faculty has sponsored three doctoral, two masters, and one cooperative advanced specialist educational degree (Ed. S) with the Education Administration faculty. Data on these groups are shown in Table II.

TABLE II Adult Education Cohorts

Date Initiated	Degree/Name	# of Students Starting	# of Students Completing Courses	Marginalized Persons N=	Marginalized Persons %	Course Completers Graduated N=	Course Completers Graduated %
1/88	Ed. D/Alpha	30	27	5	16	20	74
6/88	Ed. D/Omega	32	27	28	88	14	53
8/90	Ed. D/CC	40	33	23	58	13	39
1/88	M.S./Beta	25	18	22	88	16	89
9/93	M.S./Pop. Ed. degree optional	28	21 (3 non degree)	12	430	12	67
5/94	Ed.S./Pilsen	63	63	53	84	NA	

Prior to the cohorts, through traditional programming, the adult education faculty, according to 1990 data, had recruited 16% marginalized and 15% international students among the 178 active doctoral students; in contrast, the three doctoral cohort groups with 87 active students had 64% from marginalized groups. Clearly, the cohorts were an effective way to recruit marginalized persons. In May 1995, the diversity of active students in the doctoral program is show in Table III.

International students came from 19 countries; Asia: 16 from 7 countries; Africa: 4 from 4 countries; Caribbean: 3 from 3 countries; and one student each from Canada, Chile, Ireland, Germany, and Romania. Thirty eight percent of the students now in the program are students of color. This fact alone changes the dynamics of what goes on in the classroom, what the research agenda becomes, and whose knowledges are a part of the curriculum. NIU has stabilized over the last 5 years at this ratio of about 60% white/40% persons of color; about 11 to 12% international students mostly from developing countries contributely to that 40%.

Was the Graduation Rate Improved by the Cohorts?

In 1990 the graduation rate of students in our traditional program was 30% when one looked at the 464 students admitted as compared to 141 graduated (Cunningham, 1991a). However, 261 (56%) were still active and potentially able to graduate and clearly many had not had time to graduate. Sixty-two students (13%) were inactive and were dropped. In order to make a more realistic analysis, all students admitted between 1976 and 1985 were included in a 1990 analysis, thus allowing a five year period for the latest admissions to graduate. The overall graduation rate was 53% but 55% for European Americans, 57% for international students and 35% for African and Latino Americans. African Americans in these data took on average 6.5 years to complete their program while European Americans took 5.5 or 1 year less. African Americans dropped out at a high rate (41%) than European Americans (18%); The overall attrition rate was 45 students or 21%.

(Cunningham, 1991a). Cohorts have a stronger retention and graduation rate. Starting in 1988, and for a seven year period, as compared to the ten year period for the traditonal students, the cohorts have the following graduation and retention rates as displayed in Table IV.

Fifteen of the original 102 students admitted in the cohorts did not finish the course work (15%) as compared to 21% drop-out from the traditional doctoral program. In Table II we saw that the Alpha has a 74%, Omega 53% and the Community College Cohort 39% graduation rate. Now we can see in Table III the marked improvement of graduation in all ethnic/racial groups in the cohort as compared to traditional students. European Americans went from 55 to 66%; African and Latino Americans went from 35% to 48% and 47% respectively. The snapshot for the traditional students was for a minimum 5 to a maximum 10 years in the program; the cohorts are being assessed in a 5 to 7 year period and still have higher rates of graduation in the shorter period.

TABLE III Current Student Census by Race/Ethnicity

Group	N=	%=
European American	144	60.0
African American	53	22.0
Latino American	12	5.0
Asian American	1	0.5
Native American	1	0.5
International	28	12.0
Total	239	100%

TABLE IV Ace Doctoral Cohort Graduation Rates by Race/Ethnicity

Name	# years	Inactive & dropped	European N=	%	African N=	%	Latino N=	%	Asian N=	%	Native N=	%
Alpha	7	3	*22/15	68	3/3	100	2/2	100	0	0	0	0
Omega	7	5	3/2	66	11/6	55	13/6	44	0	0	0	0
Community College	5	7	10/6	60	19/7	37	2/0	0	1/0	0	1/0	0
Total		15	35/23 = 66%		33/16 = 48%		17/8 = 47%		1/0 = 0		1/0 = 0	

* Active students/graduated

To summarize the demographic data, we have aspired to be a large program and to be inclusive. We have documented race and ethnicity; social class is more difficult. We do know that many of our students have working class backgrounds and a few come from extremely poor families. Feminism was a late issue in the program, surfacing about 1990 for unknown reasons. However, the proportion of women quickly grew as the program grew and is now at 60%. In Fall, 1994 the mean age of doctoral students was 44; 77% were part time students.

In reflecting on the program, I believe that the "cohort concept" is an appropriate option for democratizing the university and increasing the graduation rate. Size of program is more debatable. Presently we have a 20 to 1 doctoral student/faculty ratio. I believe this may be too high because of the strain it places on the student/faculty relationship. Building relationships means time together and demands on time means difficulty for faculty to find time for themselves outside the university.

In several papers we have described other ways we have tried to develop space for encouraging change (Cunningham 1991a, 1991b, 1993a, 1993b; Cunningham and Smith). Here is a summary of those activities.

1. to encourage Africana - Latino(a) cohesiveness through annual student research conferences on their agendas;
2. the addition to the traditional graduate curriculum of sociological, political, and policy courses;
3. to explicitly explore gender, race, class interactions in educational processes;
4. to strengthen our ties with community based educational organizations which emphasize education for democratic social change;
5. to encourage student enrollment and formal agreements with progressive adult educators form Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean;
6. to promote research which critically examines "development" both in the U.S. and in other countries represented in our student body.
7. to develop institutional partnerships for encouraging education that develops on the edge of social movements within poor and marginalized populations.
8. to develop an exchange with Chile and the People's Republic of China; to explore the issues around "cultural imperialism" in working with graduate students from China and the development of a model for exchanges in which partners were co-equal.

The Future

There are only three full and one adjunct faculty member now actively engaged in a progressive social change agenda at NIU. Last year the Lindeman Center which had been operating since 1976 was terminated by the University as a casualty of downsizing, the director's resignation from the University, and the lack of vision by administrators on what part the community plays in graduate education. Though we continue to work with the Lindeman Center as a freestanding unit, it is in a poor financial situation and all efforts are voluntary. We continue to make curricular innovations but it seems that what we need is a fresh look at what we are doing and the extent to which we are truly making a difference.

What are my concerns? Few of our students are politically progressive in a mature sense. International students tend to be more progressive as a group than the domestic students. Some domestic students are in an idealistic conceptual stage and have not struggled "on the ground," and are just beginning their critical journey. There are few progressive faculty outside of education and curricular options for a critical discourse are limited. We have a rich base of students at various stages of a progressive agenda but a very limited group of persons with the experience and time to work with them. How can we move beyond our present activities when internal resources are limited?

It seems time to try and develop a project which could center and extend our progressive social change agenda. The major conceptual fields on which to ground this project would be work, community, and family; the organizing principles would be culture education, and knowledges. The goal is to work towards a new paradigm for the creation of democratic social movements by concentrating and pyramiding resources. A culture and education project would provide an intersection of the university with work, community and family. Hart's treatise (1992) on work would be one starting point. The partnership of community/university would be one where the conceptual education of graduate students would interface with the political work on the ground in the community; both should benefit. The family is important since it is the first grouping in the civil society and because the family is conceptualized as the center of work. The African-American family is presently under siege; the concept of family is changing and social space is now present to create change.

1. How do we in education, within cultural contexts, create knowledge and knowledge producers? How do we challenge the market as the fundamental value of our culture?

2. Most social critics recognize the limitations of both marxist and free market economies. In addition most educators recognize that the market is driving educational practice. How can we reorganize work so that it educates for life? How do we develop cultural norms to center work around the family so that education develops more robustly as learning for life rather than learning to live.

3. How can intellectuals in the university work with intellectuals in the community to develop a robust civil society through mutual engagement?

4. How can the experiences of the poor in other countries inform and assist our analysis of the social construction of poverty in the U.S. urban centers? Anti-racist programs? Collective work strategies?

The concern now is to concentrate the energies of faculty, students, and communities in a way to encourage cultural production in education here in the midwest. Cultural and education centers can be found in Boston and in Los Angeles but not in Chicago. Nowhere is there a place that emphasizes adult education. What would such activities encompass? These are some examples:

1. Seek out and support post-doctoral candidates or educational leaders seeking short term study from poor countries and U.S. marginalized communities to do research on cultural issues in education.

    a. A Zambian doctoral student completing a dissertation on structural adjustment programs and their effects on education and the social sector in his country wishes to continue that research with leaders from other countries. This creation of knowledge coming from the base could challenge World Bank and IMF analyses.

b. Adult education community leaders from other countries or from the U.S. want to spend 6 weeks to 3 months in retreat from their every day activities to reflect, read, and write in an intellectually stimulating environment. In exchange, these persons would provide educational seminars for our students and faculty.

2. The cultural and education project would be an intersection for the community and the university in providing resources to strengthen community leadership.

   a. The Far South Chicago Community consisting of 32 CBO's wishes help to train community leaders in popular education techniques and participatory research methodology. Students affiliated with the project could develop such political work with the community groups.

   b. A Chicana is doing research on the political education of Chicana laborers in the migrant communities between Texas and Illinois and wishes to open up this inquiry to graduate students. She wishes to develop a two year program to do this. The project would work with her to fund such activity.

   c. An urban Native American scholar wishes to develop oral historians among urban Native American populations in Chicago and to tie these historians and their histories back to the relevant tribal reservation or Tribal College. The scholar would train the local leaders and assist in making tribal connections for dissemination and analysis.

   d. Several women of color want to help community women develop their own gender analysis of feminism, womanism, as experienced in their own social location. These data would be utilized to develop a dialogue with persons with similar agendas in other countries.

3. Knowledge production and dissemination for popular educators and social change projects would be encouraged.

   a. A journal of alternative knowledge could be developed with the North American Alliance for Popular and Adult Education.

   b. Books such as the political economy of adult education developed by the African Association of Literacy and Adult Education would be published and disseminated in the west as well as co-published in the home country.

These are my ideas. I will appreciate your critique and suggestions.

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ADULT EDUCATION'S PROSPECTS IN A POST-UNIVERSITY WORLD

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In 1937, I was at a meeting where I was introduced to somebody who said, "What do you do now?" I told him, and he said, "Oh, you are an adult educator." I said, "I am?" And he said that the American Association for Adult Education is having a conference in New York in about a month and I ought to go. So I wrote and got the information, and went, and was impressed with the quality of the people there. Mostly, they were refugees from academia. They were people who had decided the Mickey Mouse rules and regulations of academia were not worth it, and so they had fled. But they had discovered that adult education did not have Mickey Mouse rules and regulations, and so I decided that I wanted to be an adult educator. (Niemi and Collins, 1987, p. 3)

Malcolm Knowles, 1987

My assignment, if I understand correctly, is to comment **as an outsider** on the prospects and problems of the field of adult education in a post-modern, higher education context.

In West Texas, where I grew up, the fundamentalist ministers I listened to usually contextualized their sermons by reading an appropriate segment of scripture. The text I've chosen for this occasion appears in the extract at the top of this page. Professor Knowles said this at a meeting of the CPAE. (Commission of Professors of Adult Education).

To demonstrate my qualifications—at least for the part of the assignment that asks me to comment **as an outsider**—let me supply a few additional details.

My Bachelor of Science in education degree contained no adult education courses. I used the teaching license that came with it to secure jobs in two Texas Junior high schools where I pretended to teach people who, as I experienced them, had no visible resemblance to adults. A master's degree in social science (history, political science, psychology) had no adult education work—nor did my Ph. D. in history and philosophy of education.

My first 27 years as a higher education faculty member did not involve my teaching any adult education courses—although at Iowa State where I was a professor for 17 of those years, I had many adult education majors in my graduate courses. There I directed dissertations in higher education, history and philosophy of education, comparative education, and simply "education," with no adjectival designators, but the faculty members in adult education forbad my directing dissertations in their spaciality. At Northern Illinois University, I do occasionally teach a research seminar in adult education, and I direct adult ed dissertations—but Bob Mason wisely has not included most of them in the official *Annual Census of Doctorates Conferred in Adult Education.*

Final evidence of "outsiderness" is that two years ago I and two of my doctoral graduates submitted proposals to the selection committee for the Penn State AERC meeting. The committee rejected all three. I could add as a footnote that last year Phyllis Cunningham and I did present at the Knoxville AERC (Hyams, Armstrong, & Anderson, 1994, p. 109). Phyllis drafted both the proposal and the paper. This experience reconfirmed how innocent my understanding is of the "insider codes" that one needs to communicate effectively about research in adult education.

Having acknowledged that I am not an adult educator, let me now assert that I **am** not only an interested observer but also an admirer of many aspects of the field. For the past nine and a half years, I have chaired a department that now has 12 tenure track

ACE faculty and that annually graduates 30 to 40 doctors specializing in adult education. This year's Cy Houle award winner, Fred Schied, was one of the doctors, and I had the pleasure of serving on his dissertation committee.

Now that I've established my claim as an outsider, perhaps you will entertain a few remarks that respected insiders would know better than to make. But, as you feel tempted to dismiss them, remember Benjamin Hoff's sage observation that "there is more to knowing than just being correct" (Hoff, 1982, p. 29).

In preparation for this assignment, I have spent interesting hours reading the 1948, 1960, 1970, and 1989 *Handbooks*, (Ely, 1948; Knowles, 1960; Merriam & Cunningham, 1989; Smith, Aker, & Kidd, 1970). I have also read with interest the "black books" of 1964 and 1991 (Jensen, Liveright and Hallenback, 1964; Peters & Jarvis, 1991). Rounding out my background reading were Robert A. Carlson's "Open Season on Gate Keepers" (CPAE, 1992), the 35th Annual AERC *Proceedings* (Hyams, Armstrong, & Anderson, 1994), proceedings of the 1987 and 1989 Commission of Professors of Adult Education (Quigley, 1989; Neimi & Collins, 1987), and the *Standards for Graduate Programs in Adult Education* (Peters & Jarvis, 1991, pp. 457-466). I have looked through back issues of the *Adult Education Quarterly* and the 1980-1981 series of "handbooks," (Charters, 1981; Grabowski, 1981; Knox, 1980: Kreitlow, 1981; Long and Hiemstra, 1980; Peters, 1980). My thanks to Phyllis Cunningham and John Niemi for making these materials available to me—though I hasten to add for their protection that neither is in any way responsible for what I am about to say.

And now to the central question: What is the post-modern future of adult education? My answer: **NONE! NONE—IF THE MOVEMENT STAYS AFFILIATED WITH MAINLINE UNIVERSITIES. LET ME REPEAT: WHAT IS THE POST MODERN FUTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION? NONE, IF THE MOVEMENT STAYS AFFILIATED WITH UNIVERSITIES AS WE HAVE KNOWN THEM!**

To explain why I say this requires casting the discussion in a larger historical perspective. I believe we are making wrong assumptions about the relationship between post modernism and universities. Let me pause for an operating definition of modernism (and post-modernism). I understand the term modernism to refer to the so-called Enlightenment and its extension to the present, with special emphasis on rationality, experimental science, and progress. I understand post-modern to mean contemporary skepticism about "progress" based on rationality and positivistic science. Because the concepts of post modernity (and deconstructionism and post structuralism, etc.) came from academics—Michel Foucault was an academician par excellence (Smith & Smith, 1994, P. 431). And especially because academics currently discuss these issues, we operate as if universities have somehow transformed themselves into institutional manifestations of post moderism. But universities are not post-modern. They are the quintessence of everything modern, serving as both the central vehicle of and metaphor for modernism. They stand for rationality, for progress, for science. At their core is what Benjamin Hoff (1982) calls "Knowledge and Cleverness" (Hoff, 1982, p. 154). And it is no accident that the rationality, science, progress—Knowledge and Cleveness—that universities embody is racist, classist, sexist, elitist, and culturally/linguistically biased. The fact that some faculty and programs (such as adult education) espouse egalitarianism does not change the fundamental assumptions about reality and knowledge in which universities ground their existence.

A careful reading of Hastings Rashdall's three volume *History of the Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (1936) reveals that the centers of study (e. g., Bologna, Paris, Oxford) that came to be called universities did not emerge because existing cathedral and monastic schools were unable to promulgate knowledge or serve as effective centers of study. They came into being out of a struggle to **control** knowledge—to define what was true knowledge and to profit from it by keeping it away from a majority of the population. The struggle lasted over several centuries but ultimately resulted in four forms of restraint: (1) what beliefs and information constituted official "knowledge"; (2) who could study and be certified as having attained official "knowledge"; (3) in what sequence the subjects constituting official "knowledge" could be studied; and (4) who could teach and certify mastery. Setting the content and order of the curriculum, admission to study and

graduation, and selection of "certified" faculty are continuing hallmarks of universities.

Harold Stubblefield has written that "as adult educators contemplate the directions that adult education will take in the last decade of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, they will not find the road map in the study of history" (Merriam and Cunningham, 1989, p. 36). If this is true, it is only because the historians of adult education have focused too narrowly.

One way of thinking about the history of education is that until universities came into being, most learning had the characteristics that adult educators like to associate with their field. Learners decided what they would study, in what order, and with whom. If they could not afford the fees or for some other reason could not secure a teacher, they became self-learners. Universities preempted much of this nonformal and informal learning, making it the special province of white, upper-middle class males.

If an outsider may make a modest suggestion, perhaps it is time for adult educators to lay claim to a history that begins much earlier than 1922 or 1930. And I'm not talking about Benjamin Franklin and the Junto, a phenomenon that the late Mickey Hellyer (1989) put in perspective. Rather, I am referring to any situation where people taught themselves or each other outside the purview of the university. This means that the heroes of adult education should include Sappho, Protogoras, Hypatia of Alexandria, Heloise, Peter Abelard, Christine de Plaan, and Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz (Smith & Smith, 1994). It also means, as several recent studies advocate, that even U.S. adult education history should become much more inclusive (Colin, 1989; Salazar, 1994; Schied, 1993, p. xii). And the pantheon should include people from early African and Asian civilizations and from pre-Columbian America that we have yet to discover.

May I also suggest, strictly from an outsider's viewpoint, that graduate study in adult education—the raison d'être of the Commission of Professors—looks a lot like the domestication of a dynamic, maverick force by the conventional interests of academia. A field that could in 1964 be accurately described as "**peripheral** to the older aspects of education," as "**fluid and flexible**," as "**pioneering**," as "**geared to the changing needs** and forms of our society," and as "**complex**" and lacking **any semblance of final and rigid institutional organization**" (Jensen, Liveright, and Hallenbeck, 1964, p.3) now has an increasingly prescribed curriculum taught by certified professionals with essentially the same rules and norms as any other "discipline" in the university. (The graduate dean where I work has lost no opportunity to impose "final and rigid institutional organization" on the adult education program). So adult education, organized according to Malcolm Knowles by "refugees from academia" to avoid "Mickey Mouse rules and regulations," has spent a generation working sedulously to find a home in academia—and has succeeded. The price of success, however, was high. It has cost the movement its soul, its defining essence. This is true not because professors of adult education are bad people but because they are normal people—and normal people want to fit in, to be legitimate within the context in which they work.

William James called success a "bitch goddess," in the interest of gender equity, and in keeping with how we label our tropical depressions, I would like to name a corresponding "bastard god"—legitimacy. The yearning for legitimacy, so deeply internalized in most academicians that it is invisible except in others, has a magnetic power that gradually transforms even the most resistant.

A few examples: Most professors of adult education will hotly deny racism, classism, ageism, elitism, sexism, and culture/linguistic bias. Yet the programs in which they work almost exclusively use middle class, U.S. English. (Last week, several members of the ACE faculty at NIU insisted that all examinations, papers and dissertations must be in English—even though there are enough faculty who are fluent in Spanish to supervise work in that language). African Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans continue to be underrepresented in most programs. There are few acknowledged gay and lesbian students in most graduate programs, and feminist research is an exotic topic for most professors. Applicants from "name" (expensive) universities get admission preference over those from Anywhere U. And while most professors subscribe to one of the founding principles of adult education—that everyone can learn—their universities use the GRE, Miller Analogies, and TOEFL in a way

that rules out a majority of the population from graduate study.

Taking on the traits of the oppressor doesn't stop here. In unconsciously copying the styles of colleagues in the social sciences and humanities, many professors of adult education have become less effective teachers than are the graduate students whom they seek to improve. They lecture their students on how adults don't learn by being talked at. They give low marks to students who don't offer convincing evidence of understanding the consequences of power differentials in relationships. And many professors deliberately do not use in their own praxis the kinds of "training models" or group dynamics skills that their practitioner students must employ to be successful in their jobs. (I have listened to complaints from students about the attitudes of distinguished professors of adult education. Their disappointment was not about grades or work or curriculum. They were incensed at "student centered" claims from professors who they felt treated their considerable professional experience as irrelevant).

Why does this happen? Surely most professors of adult education know the "training" or group dynamics concepts or literature. Is it so they won't look "soft" or "fringy" or "touchy-feely" to their university peers? I don't know, but I think so. The result is that the average elementary school teacher with five years of experience is a better teacher than the typical professor of anything, including adult education.

The 1964 black book repeatedly referred to adult education as a "new and developing" or "emerging"—and also "marginalized"—field (Jensen, Liveright, and Hallenback, 1964, pp. 3, 27, 69, 85). Many professors of adult education seem to still have this view. The fact that adult education, just as the rest of education, enjoys a kind of third class citizen status within the university lends credibility to the marginality argument. But adult education is no longer new and developing. It has emerged. This doesn't mean that the movement has arrived, but the Commission of Professors of Adult Education has realized in less than four decades most of the dreams of the 1955 Allerton Park fathers. (I believe there were no mothers present). The **Standards** of this organization bear eloquent testimony to this claim. In 1964 Cyril Houle noted that most universities had so few courses in adult education that students had to "fill out a graduate program" with irrelevant courses "such as high school guidance, problems of the school principalship, teaching arithmetic in the elementary school, or the junior high school curriculum" (Jensen, Liveright, and Hallenbeck, 1964, p. 81). In the institution where I currently work, which had no adult education program in the 1960s, a student can now take all 93 semester hours of her doctoral work in adult education and not exhaust the courses available in the program.

Returning to the central question of the prospects in the post modern world of education generally and of adult education specifically, let me reassert that I do not see a bright long-term future for either enterprise within universities as we know them—and universities as we know them have a seven hundred year history. But let me also assert that the problem does not lie primarily with any of the education specialties, including adult education. I have enumerated a few discrepancies between ideal and practice in adult education not to condemn the field or its professors but rather to illustrate that the marriage with the university has reached a dysfunctional stage. Its time for a divorce. **GET OUT NOW BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE. ALL OF US IN EDUCATION HAVE WORKED HARD TO ENSURE OURSELVES STANDING ROOM IN STEERAGE ON A SHIP GOING THE WRONG DIRECTION, LAUNCH THE LIFE BOATS!**

The day of the university is over. The most exciting professional development work is not being done in universities now but rather in independent companies such as Performance Learning Systems (California and New Jersey). All of us in education should join hands to create free standing institutes of advanced study—with undergraduate completion, master's and doctoral degree authority. I believe this can be successfully done without tax money. Something like the California Institute for Integral Studies suggests a prototype. Another model can be found in schools of professional psychology which offer graduate degrees independently of university supervision.

Any new degree granting institute would need safeguards against replicating the problems of the modern university. One is that everyone involved be

real co-learners—not faculty and students. Perhaps Summerhill style governance meetings where each person has one vote would be a good start. Full-time workers would keep salaries and benefits similar to those in universities—without rank, tenure, and other status differentials—but time does not permit laying out details of an independent educational institute. These would need to be worked out by participants in any case.

I leave you with this thought: The modern age is at an end. Crises face us on all sides. If adult education as a movement is to realize the high promise of its pre-paradigm period, then it's time to get away from the Mickey Mouse rules and regulations of the academy. As a wise little book entitled *The Tao of Pooh* puts it:

> The one chance we have to avoid certain disaster is to change our approach....We can no longer afford to look so desperately hard for something in the wrong way and in the wrong place. If Knowledge and Cleverness are allowed to go on wrecking things, they will before much longer destroy all life on earth as we know it, and what little may temporarily survive will not be worth looking at, even if it would somehow be possible for us to do so. (Hoff, 1982, p. 154).

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UNIVERSITIES AND THE COMMUNITY: WHOSE RIGHTS? WHOSE DUTIES?

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This paper takes as its starting point the failure of universities, and university staffs, to fulfil their duties to the community. I will talk about the duties, the heavy duties of intellectuals and members of academic communities to make societies happy. I shall generalise from the case of Britain, but I believe the problem—for so I believe it to be—is international. What I mean is that since the move to the right which characterised the 1980s, it has become clear that the right-wing is very well organised. The "special relationship" between the United States and Britain, between Thatcher and Reagan, is but one expression of this. Their claim to have influenced each other is well justified, and has caused mortal damage to the integrity of our civic and public life.

In the history of British universities it is clear that there was a time when they fulfilled a duty to the community. This was especially the case in the nineteenth century with the growth of the great civic universities such as Manchester and Leeds. There is some kind of a rational explanation for the demise of this responsibility, which dates from the time when these great civic universities moved out of town and to campuses. The trend towards remoteness which was manifest in this, was to do with elitism, and we now observe the same phenomenon with the transmogrification of polytechnics to universities. The problem with working in a university is that one is consoled with the notion of elitism, and of course flattered by being part of an elite community. And this is a trend which is compounded by the policies of modern right wing governments. For example, it is said that universities must respond to the needs of the public. When this claim is made, there is no definition of what is public need. There is an assumption to which we have been subjected without critical analysis, that the public need is the need of industry and commerce. There is nothing wrong with trying to help industry and commerce. What is wrong is that universities have blindly accepted this as the principal definition of public need.

One example is that of the National Vocational Qualifications in Britain. The implementation of NVQ has meant turmoil in the Further Education sector. An eminent speaker to whom I listened recently talked glowingly of the work of Further Education, with no reference at all to the dissatisfaction which has been caused by the changes in the education of younger people as a consequence of the implementation of NVQ. Professor Stella Parker of City University London, has described it as 'mean, ungenerous, lean and educationally unsound'.[1] It is all of these things because it seeks to teach people the minimum and confine their learning to what is defined as necessary by the public, or to put it another way, business. In University Adult Education departments in Britain we have accepted that the business of education should be submerged under a welter of jargon, half-baked ideas, acronyms and pseudonyms. Also lies.

As well as NVQ, in this short paper I can only mention one discrepancy in many aspects of government policy, which one can only hope the public will at last suspect. This concerns the funding of mature students. The British Government believes, or says it believes, that it is important that we have access to higher education for mature students. Indeed the allegation by the Government that this is important is one of its hallmarks, and the fact which is that it is destructive of that ambition, is also part of its hallmark. The truth of the matter is that in Britain access to higher education by mature students, despite the noble efforts of the best people in University Adult Education, and indeed in the Universities generally, are frustrated by the singular lack of support for ambitious mature students. But these examples are, though depressing, insignificant when viewed against the record of universities and

intellectuals in a wider context. Let me give a perfect example. In 1932 an empire of scientific experimentation was built in the then Manchuria. Manchuria was the testing ground for Japanese Imperial expansion, and it was there that Unit 731 was established. The work of this Unit was of great scientific importance. The Head of the Unit was an army officer, Ishii Shiro, but he was also regarded as one of the most skilled pioneers of medical science in Japan at the time. All sorts of important scientific discoveries were made, but the only trouble was that there was a certain human cost. Unit 731 was the cornerstone of a gigantic biological and chemical warfare factory.[2] There the eminent doctors and scientists experimented with bacteria of every kind and cultivated them in gigantic quantities. The ostensible reason for this was variously to improve the quality of drinking water and for the development of defence against the use of bacteria by the enemy. Human beings had to be used because experimentation upon animals had limitations and into these Units were sent prisoners, both civilian and military of a variety of nationalities. They included Mongolians, Koreans, Russians and almost certainly Americans. These prisoners were variously frozen, infected with bacteria such as anthrax, and exposed to chemicals of various kinds. The death toll will never be known, and the whole affair was shrouded in secrecy. None of the officials concerned in this activity was ever brought to justice, and indeed many achieved important positions at the end of the war in major companies in, for example, the pharmaceutical trades. It is from the activities in Unit 731 and the explanation as to the absence of punishment for the academics there that I would like to make a general point about the duty of intellectuals and academics to humanity and communities. The activities speak for themselves; they were carried out by some of the most eminent scientists in Japan.

The reason for the absence of pursuit by the American authorities after 1945 is thoroughly squalid. Some hint of the reason is given in the comments by a Doctor Edwin V Hill who was an important person in scientific research in the United States, who said "Evidence gathered in this investigation has greatly supplemented and amplified previous aspects of this field." He observed that the information would have cost many millions of dollars and years of work. The United States could never have done it "because of scruples attached to human experimentation." He also said that "The pathological material which has been collected constitutes the only material evidence of the nature of these experiments."[3] The truth is that the American authorities confused enquirers, rejected the claims of Americans who had been subjected to such treatment in the name of science, and struck a bargain with Ishii that if he handed over his findings then there would be a general indemnity. So they were excused, and thus exempted from the vengeance which the Americans wrought on the Japanese who had so embarrassed them. Embarrassed them indeed to such an extent that there were kangaroo courts which reflected the racism which was to be found much later, when Lyndon Johnson observed that "If the U.S. lacked the means to bomb them to dust in their lairs we should be easy prey to any yellow dwarf with a pocket knife."[4] This is the President! We can imagine what is being said down amongst the rednecks.

This somewhat dramatic illustration cannot be dismissed as unique. It is certainly extreme, but it illustrates the central point I would like to make which is in the history of Universities, and the activities of intellectuals, there is a great want of principle for the most part. Reimer writes that

> "There is no major issue—war, pollution, exploitation, racism—on which the academic community, as such, has a discernible stand. There are intelligent courageous men in schools and Universities, as there are elsewhere, but they receive no effective support from their institutions. In the exceptional case where an institution has shielded an unpopular dissident, it has also muffled his voice. The worst causes, on the other hand, have had no difficulty in recruiting academics to their support while institutions of learning have entered into contracts with all kinds of other institutions for all kinds of purposes".[5]

Is Reimer's claim absurd? Or does it reflect upon the absolute truth of past and present behaviour of universities? Certainly examples are not difficult to find. In the *British Association of University Teachers' Bulletin* for October 1994 it is reported that the British Medical Association found "incontrovertible evidence of doctors" planning and assisting in

torture, both under duress and voluntarily. The author of the article then goes on with the audacious remark that, one chapter in the Report which discusses doctors as the **victims** of repression, reminds us "that authoritarians of all political stripes resent the expression of academic freedom". There is an emphasis in the Report on the need to educate doctors in "ethical matters". One is lost in wonder at the fact that someone can go through a University, not to say a medical education, without somehow along the way being apprised of "ethical matters."[6] The truth is that people do.

Nor need we despair at doctors alone. Nor need we restrict our despair to countries outside the United Kingdom. On the 26th January 1995 the British Independent Newspaper carried an article about an important comprehensive volume entitled "Social Trends". This article was by Muriel Nissel, the original editor of that Journal. In it she points out that when the Conservative Party came to power in Britain in 1979 there was a major review of the Government Statistical Service, the outcome of which was it seems that information should be managed to the eternal glory of the new government. The consequence was that we now have typically inadequate accounts of malfunctioning in society, and the inevitable threats to organizations in the form of cutbacks has been effective. Nissel was asked to write a long history of the publication, but in the event the article was banned. In his defence in a letter to the newspaper on 27th January, the Director of the Government Statistical Service replied that her article was, "strong on opinions some of which in my opinion were **political** in nature" (author's emphasis).

In an excellent new book entitled "Defining the Enemy",[7] Michael Newman sets out to examine in most erudite fashion what has happened to the attempts on the part of adult educators to engage in radical activity. Despite the claims of many adult educators, including me, this has been a very peripheral and halting activity. This is not only because it is very difficult and depressing work in some ways, it is because of the total absence of support from parent institutions. Indeed, especially at the present time, any attempt to deliver a coherent system of education for adults is especially marked for doom. This is a process with which by now we are increasingly familiar. Ever since the Great Pestilence descended upon Britain in 1979, followed by the election of Fraser in Australia, the unspeakable Muldoon in New Zealand, and the most remarkable of all in some ways, Reagan, governments in many places have realised the truth of what, again, Reimer said. Can we disagree that "an educated minority of any size would never put up with current health and education services, environmental pollution, political policy control by military industrial cliques or advertiser control of mass media, to say nothing of traffic jams, housing shortages and the host of other absurdities which afflict modern societies".[8]

One can hardly challenge the truth of what he says, or at least I think so, but there is a remarkable difference between the First and the Third Worlds. It is that because the Third World groans under the oppression of the First World, and of its own vicious and corrupt governments, the poor people in that world can be excused arguably for submitting to such indignities. The remarkable proof of Reimer's point is that in the most educated of Western societies, one can find the tolerance for what he calls "absurdities." One can claim, by extension, that the very fact of Thatcher's election and re-election to power in Britain is the most perfect indicator of the failure of the education system, and it has to be said of the adult education system in Britain. Certainly the production of a society which is so uncritical, and indeed leaps to the defence of the worst behaviour of its rulers and elites, is the ultimate commentary upon the quality of our education, especially our university education. Again, perhaps hardly surprising. Chomsky points out that "a leading figure, Hans Morgenthau, of the *Science of Government*, reminds us that "facts are irrelevant to necessary truths": to adduce the facts is "to confound the abuse of reality with reality itself:" Recapitulating the "error of atheism which denies the validity of religion on similar grounds".[9]

Mention of religion raises another important deficit in the intellectual contribution to human happiness. There can be no doubt whatever that organized religion has been responsible, and no more so at the present time, for the production of misery beside which the holocaust, and the treatment of prisoners of war in the Far East during the Pacific War, fail to hold a candle. It is not necessary to dwell on the evils of Islam in practice, with its murderous intent which has focused upon, in Britain, Salman Rushdie,

with the inevitable concomitant failure on the part of government, and the almost total lack of interest on the part of universities to support him. It should be said that he is sustained by a group of intellectual writers.

And if we make any pretensions to the search after truth, we should scatter the cosy enclosure within which we herd the outpourings of Pope John Paul which so devastate the poor, notably of course women. In his latest encyclical entitled *Evangelium Vitae* 'The Gospel of Life', the recipe for human misery advanced by the Church is confirmed. The Pope has declared that justification for the death penalty is 'very rare'. There is reaffirmation that "There is no obligation in conscience to obey" laws promoting abortion and euthanasia. "Intellectuals have a duty to argue against them"—a very interesting statement. Not only is this particular statement bad news for women, it is excellent news for the latest rash of murderers in the United States of people involved in abortion. The document continues that Contraception and Abortion are "specifically different evils", and that contraception strengthens the temptation to abortion'. The forgiveness, with which people are tempted to join Churches is subordinate to the commission of such sins. The penalty for abortion, or assisting one, is automatic excommunication. For those devout Catholics who wish to have children, their sinfulness is emphasised by any attempt at in vitro fertilisation. This is morally wrong. On issues such as the death penalty, we are informed that the Head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, has pronounced statements about the rarity of a justified death penalty as "important doctrinal" advances. The English Cardinal Hume reminds us that "No Catholic is free to dissent from what is taught".[10] Can any 'intellectual'—that is 'a highly intelligent person' with 'a capacity for understanding, thinking and reasoning, as distinct from feeling or wishing'[11] possibly accept such restriction? Even a loyal Roman Catholic, Peter Harvey of Newman College, Birmingham, notes that:

> 'the Pope is an absolutist. He seems to inhabit a stratospheric dimension on all these questions—so that he can say to a group of raped Muslim women in Bosnia that they should bring their pregnancies to term.[12]

It is I believe the duty of educators, including adult educators, to expose such exhortations for the cruel and unthinking directions they are. It is at this point that I stand with C. Wright Mills who wrote that "in a world of widely-communicated nonsense, any statement of fact is of political and moral significance."[13] What the social scientist or liberal educator should do is "continually to translate personal troubles into public issues, and public issues into the terms of their human meaning for a variety of individuals."[14] Perhaps medical schools to take one example, are not concerned with this. I think we should be. We stand, or should stand, at the boundary between the Community and the University. Perhaps rather than `boundary', the word should be `barrier'. The attempts to break down that barrier by university adult educators is what distinguishes, historically and generally, the English and Welsh-speaking worlds from those, for example, of Continental Europe. Our history is littered with bold attempts, or at least desires, to make important differences to Society. Adult Education has produced individuals who have shaped the fates of nations, and who otherwise would never have done so without our enabling them to do so. To any claim that education is now so all-embracing that no such demand is left, can be dismissed with reference to simple and unending facts like most children leave school at the earliest opportunity.

I am claiming that we are in danger of losing sight of what I believe to be our mission to build a bridge between the University and the Community, to inject into that liberalism, to fight against the kinds of tyranny that have demeaned the dignity of people in the Community who are weaker than we are. What this means in practice is the opening of every question, and most notably those questions which are significantly traditionally barred from discussion in the British Army, religion and politics. There are no absolutes in either, both in various forms create mountains of human misery, and justify the sustenance of evil.

You may have noticed that I have avoided the minefield of the meaning of 'Community' even though it is used in my title. I wonder if it is enough for me to say that the Community about which I speak is the body which, in its several parts and divisions, is brought together and identified for my purpose. It is the entity which has created and sustained the University: And to which the University

has duties and obligations beyond being a big employer of local people. This is as much of a definition as I can attempt in a short paper which in any case focuses mainly upon the failure of huge tracts of University life to contribute to the common good.

We are now surrounded by demands for relevance and we are told, certainly in Britain, that failure to accommodate the perceived needs of the Government, which I touched upon earlier, will result in an absence of funding. The assumption is therefore that you begin by being incompetent, and then you get to a measured point of competence, and in some way this validates your activity. It would appear that we are dealing with barbarians, who have to be brought up to Colonial standard. This is based, as are all right-wing theories, upon a pessimistic assumption about people.

Again, as Michael Newman points out in his book, the implication of this new phantasmagoria of limited and illiberal education, is that it centres around competencies. "We need," he writes, "to think of the person, the learner, as more than a resource, or a unit of human capital or a cluster of officially sanctioned competencies.[15]

There are many ways in which my assertions can be dealt with. First of all, I would expect people to say that I am wrong. I would be interested to listen to counter-arguments, and because of this I would claim that I am worthy of a position in a University, and in a Department of Adult Education. We know that most people will not listen to counter-arguments, and it is this very process which needs establishment or re-establishment in the lives of our communities. This simple point is the core of what the great John Newman was talking about when he wrote of education, that it

> "gives a man a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgement, a truth in developing them, and eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them. It teaches him to see things as they are, to go right to the point, to disentangle a skein of thought, to detect what is sophistical, and to discard what is irrelevant."[16]

The next way in which my statements can be negated, is by a claim that this is precisely what University Adult Educators do. Again, I would be very interested indeed to hear of cases which would cheer me up. Even if there was a time in the history of adult education when the target of our educational endeavour bore some relation to Newman's, that time is fast disappearing. We are also subject to the antique philistinism which he resisted. University Adult Education should have nothing to do with this narrow functionalism, with the oversimplification of complex issues which extreme governments advance, or practitioners of the more cruel religious creeds would foist upon us as divine. Or if it be argued that reality insists we must, then we should ask some very serious questions about our duties to the community. If we are not able to discharge these duties by making people, in Newman's phrase,"wise", then I think we have failed. If we engage in an educational process which is devoid of intellectualism, then we have failed, as we fail when we tolerate tyranny. On a less dramatic level, there is nothing wrong with preparing people to be competent at work. There is nothing wrong with ensuring that people are properly qualified to do difficult physical jobs. There is everything wrong with the discrepancy between a University which carries out such tasks, and its pretensions to do otherwise, and with a University Adult Education Department who helps. Our duty is as Chris Foley suggests when he argues `that adult learning can be a tough and demanding business, and that the adult educator has a right, perhaps a duty, to adopt a position and point harsh realities out'.[17] These include a reassertion of the truth that conflict is endemic in the workplace and that the adult education of Australian aborigines is limp because the `harsh reality' is not addressed. Too precious? Out of touch? Perhaps. But we must insist, with Oscar Wilde, that while "we are all in the gutter—some of us are looking at the stars"[18].

[1]Parker, Stella . 'Frameworks and credits under the microscope', (forthcoming).

[2]Harris, Sheldon H. (1995). Factors of death: *Japanese Biological Warfare 1932-45 and the American Cover-up,* London: Routledge, p5.

[3]Ibid., p66.

[4]Chomsky, Noam (1994). *World Orders Old and New*, London: Pluto Press, p20.

[5]Reimer, E. (1971). *School is Dead,* London: Penguin, pp147-8.

[6]*Medicine Betrayed: The Participation of Doctors in Human Rights Abuses*, B.M.A. London 1992, report in AUT Bulletin, October 1994, p17.

[7]Newman, Michael (1994). *Defining the Enemy: Adult Education in Social Action*, Sydney: Stewart Victor Publishing.

[8]Reimer op.cit., p138.

[9]Chomsky Ibid p28.

[10]Report in 'The Independent' March 31st 1995.

[11]Collins English Dictionary under 'intellectual' and 'intellect'.

[12]The Independent' March 11th 1995.

[13]Mills, C.W. (1959). *The Sociological Imagination*, OUP p178.

[14]Ibid., p187.

[15]Newman, M. op.cit., p129.

[16]Newman J.H. (1901). *The Idea of a University*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. pp171-72.

[17]Quoted Newman, M., op.cit., pp75-6.

[18]Oscar Wilde, *Lady Windermere's Fan*, Act III.

UNIVERSITY ON THE LINE: PROPOSALS FOR A PEACELINE CAMPUS IN BELFAST

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Introduction

In 1993 when the University of Ulster (UU) proposed building a new, inner-city campus straddling the 'peace line' in Belfast the city, and the country, was in the grip of violent, political conflict.[1] The working class neighbourhoods of north and west Belfast, where the proposed campus would be sited, have experienced around 40 per cent of the violence in the past twenty-five years. People in these areas experience the highest levels of unemployment in western Europe and some of the highest levels of ill health and poor housing in Northern Ireland (NI). The lowest per capita educational qualifications in NI are to be found here (Rolston, 1994). These areas contain 'populations suffering the most acute deprivation' (European Peace Initiative, 1995). In 1991 the Northern Ireland Office (NIO) targeted disused factory space and derelict land in this part of Belfast for economic regeneration. It is in this site, Springvale, that the UU proposed building a fourth campus as the much needed 'anchor tenant' for attracting inward investment into the area. In early publicity material the UU emphasised that the campus, as well as attracting prospective employers, would itself generate employment.

By the time UU made its proposal, two years after Springvale was set up, the NIO had failed to attract any significant investment into the site.[2] Early reactions to the campus proposal were a mix of enthusiasm, opposition and confusion. People are generally *for* education but suspicious about potential local employment benefits. The UU quickly set about a process of persuasion and consultation with grass roots organisations, and with interested parties, with the aim of convincing them that a peace-line campus would be beneficial for local people and necessary for the expanding university sector in NI. Early opposition to specific elements of the proposal were addressed and the proposal adapted.[3] Initial unease about what was seen as a site for economic regeneration being used for a university campus has mobilised into clear questions about the cost-benefits to local people of a campus in their midst.

The proposal highlights general questions about the roles of universities in their communities. Some of these questions are part of the ongoing debate in the United Kingdom (UK) about the relationship between Higher Education, industry and labour markets. In the context of NI, the campus proposal compels critical questions about how universities function in politically divided societies. In particular, and for the purposes of this conference, questions cluster around the function of adult education and its role at the interfaces between excluded groups and the university.

The first part of this paper outlines the contest for the campus proposal. The second part addresses issues relevant to adult education. Before that, I declare my interest. I was brought up in and have lived most of my life in one of the neighbourhoods that Springvale was designated to serve. Ballymurphy housing estate would now be seen as a working class, catholic and largely republican. When I grew up there it was a new postwar, mixed religion estate on the outskirts of the city into which people were rehoused from overcrowded, but relatively cheap, accommodation in the city centre. There was no public transport system, no shopping facilities; no schools, and the rents were exorbitant. The estate soon became synonymous with social problems. I became an active adult educator in an education project in this community when I became an adult student in the late 70s. I also work in the UU in Adult Education and Community Development. Thus, I have personal, political and professional interests in the developments of adult education and economic regeneration in North and West Belfast.

PART ONE:
BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Universities in Conflict

Universities in NI have been at the centre of political controversy at key points in the history of the state and during the last 25 years of conflict. In 1968, the year that marks the start of the current conflict, NI's second university was opened. The citing of the New University of Ulster (NUU) in the Protestant, unionist area of north Antrim was seen by Catholics as a political and sectarian decision. NI's second city of Derry (largely Catholic and nationalist) had campaigned for the university to be cited in the city.[4]

In the same year, Queen's University Belfast (QUB; estd. 1845) was the highly publicised site of student protest. These were the days of student civil rights protests in the United States of America, and NI had its brief moment on the stage. Student protesters comprised the first generation of a university educated, emerging Catholic middle class who initially protested for 'one man one vote'.[5] The vote was gained within the year but the civil rights campaign, and reactions to it, had escalated to such an extent that British troops were on the streets of Derry and west Belfast in 1969.

Since those days the Universities have variously endeavoured to avoid the publicity and the life threatening politics of NI. University staff and students have been victims of killings and bombings and have served prison sentences. It is fitting irony the situation that just recently (April, 1995) QUB graduates of the sixties joined with other graduates to vote in Convocation about a controversial decision made by QUB Senate to refrain from the playing of the British national anthem (God Save the Queen) by the Royal Ulster Constabulary band on graduation days. The playing is offensive to many Catholic graduates, some of whom have protested by remaining seated during the anthem. The Senate's decision is one of a number of actions taken by QUB in response to their commissioned and highly critical study into equality practices and policy within the university.[6] The meeting of Convocation, organised by unionists in opposition to the anthem decision, was reported as a scene of bitter sectarianism such as has not been directly experienced by many graduates since the protests of the sixties (McCafferty, 1995; O'Connor, 1995). The episode challenges the presentation of the conflict in NI as essentially a working class, urban phenomenon. The people who conducted verbal battles in Convocation were highly educated and middle class.

The 1,000 people gathered for the controversial Convocation meeting may not be representative of current undergraduates or of graduates of QUB, but the meeting was a striking reminder of the significance of universities as institutions that promote the values and political culture of the state. It also suggests their significance as barometers of political change within the state. To understand the feelings aroused would require either a history lesson or some experiential understanding of how political hierarchies work in the context of communal conflicts. All societies have their political hierarchies composed of interlocking structures of race, colour, religion, gender and so on (Harding, 1992). These are embedded in every material and cultural dimension of social life. In a situation of open political challenge and violent conflict, political and cultural symbolism and education, as well as more overtly political issues, are contested territories. Universities in NI are denied the dubious hiding place of the apocryphal 'ivory tower'.[7] These episodes illustrate what remains largely unheard in discussions about the role and function of educational institutions in sustaining and shaping the social and political values of the state.

Universities operate in national and international markets for research, staff and increasingly, for students. Within these contexts the universities in NI have endeavoured to be seen as apart from the conflict; as safe places for staff to work and students to study. When UU announced its proposal for a 'peace line' campus in inner city Belfast it seemed to signal its willingness to openly enter the fray of political conflict. Following the announcements of the cease-fires the university reinforced this impression: "The Springvale proposal has the potential to be the most significant single vehicle for bringing the two communities together following the cessation of violence' (The University of Ulster at Springvale, n.d.).

The 'Peace Line Campus' Proposal: Details and Disputes

The UU is a four campus university set to expand over the next ten years from a current student population of c.18,000 to c.25,000 students in the year 2005. The Springvale proposal would involve transferring the current single faculty, Art and Design Belfast campus in total to the new campus along with nursing and therapy courses from other campuses. New programmes would be primarily interdisciplinary in a range of fields (for instance: Business/Management; Humanities/Social/ Community Development Studies). The Springvale campus would accommodate approximately 5,000 students; be operational over two phases (phase one in the year 2000; phase two in 2002). It would cost approximately 98 million pounds.

In all of the extensive documentation about the proposal the UU (and their consultants) have emphasised the benefits to the local people of the siting of a campus in the Springvale Economic Development site. The benefits promised are twofold: quantifiable in the numbers of jobs created; and qualitative in terms of social and community development. Complex data has been presented in consultations, public meetings and in reports to argue that the new campus would create 400 new jobs and bring 500 additional jobs to the locality over five years. Calculations have projected 600 further jobs as an outcome of additional spending in the local area by staff and students (University of Ulster, 1994; Touche Ross, 1994). The most recent university commissioned report calculates that the local area could in fact benefit by the creation of 228 jobs plus 200 (temporary) construction jobs (SQW, 1995). These calculations are based on, 'a significant increase in the quality of retail and leisure infrastructure and in the attractiveness of the local area as a place to live' (abid.). The UU has challenged local entrepreneurs to develop retail outlets and housing projects in order to take advantage of the influx of students and staff into the neighbourhood.[8]

The figures for employment and the debate about how many jobs would directly benefit the local population shifts emphasis depending on the document consulted. The UU is clearly committed to gaining the support of local people. Evidently, funding bodies and the NIO are scrutinising the figures, and the implications, and monitoring the reactions of local groups, politicians, churches and educationalists and weighing these in relation to their own priorities in reaching decisions about financial commitments. The NIO is soon to publish its own feasibility study into the proposal.

The qualitative benefits are less precisely delineated and cover: local access to campus sports facilities; and to the social and cultural amenities of the university; the impetus for local enterprise to develop retail outlets; and the general educational and cultural enrichment that flows from proximity to a university. The university has set up a Springvale Committee with a remit to investigate initiatives in the vicinity of the new campus. The committee is made up mainly of staff from the university's Adult and Community Development Group. Community outreach could be seen as a potential qualitative benefit accruing from the new campus. More of this shortly.

Large Issues in the Local Context

Given the poverty and employment profiles of north and west Belfast job creation is a priority. The development of Springvale has been a meeting point for Catholic and Protestant community groups around an exchange of views on the way forward for employment and regeneration (*Clár Nua*, 1995; *Foundary Regeneration Trust*, 1994; *Fourth River Regeneration Trust*, n.d.). The view is generally expressed that 'education is a good thing'; that a university campus could help to create a positive atmosphere and sense of confidence in the locality. But there are reservations about the creation of jobs and about the actual educational benefits for local people and in particular for young people.[9]

Some figures will convey the scale and variety of the problems which people hope the Springvale Economic Development site will address. In the Ballymurphy (Catholic) housing estate 61 per cent of the population is unemployed; 86 per cent of these are long term unemployed (*Economic Bulletin*, 1994). Of the twelve electoral wards in NI found to have the worst overall health, six of these are located in west Belfast (Taillon, 1993). In the Greater Shankill (Protestant) area 57 per cent of school leavers have no educational qualifications; 83 per

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cent of the working population have no educational qualifications (*Greater Shankill Partnership*, 1994). Taking the areas as a whole 73 per cent of the people in north and west Belfast have no formal qualifications compared with 49 per cent overall in NI (Rolston, 1994).

The figures evoke abstract notions of deprivation and suggest differentiated forms of social and political exclusion (linked to political and religious identity). A walk through some of these inner city areas and conversations with people would both complicate and simplify the already complex social profile. The 'peace line' is a euphemism for what is known locally as 'the wall'. This is a high wall which divides the Protestant and Catholic populations. Some Protestants say they are 'surrounded' by Catholics in this area of the city, in much the same way that they see the NI state is 'surrounded' by the larger population and greater land mass of the Republic of Ireland. These views were provided by people in the course of research for this paper. It is urgent that people engage in discussion and in dispute about these perspectives and deep rooted understandings of their respective political places in Belfast and in NI.

Integral to these problems, and despite fair employment legislation, the NIO has failed to significantly redress the historical imbalances in Catholic and Protestant employment profiles. The 1991 census figures show that Catholic males are two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than Protestant males. In response to a review of the statistics in 1991, which indicate little projected change in Catholic and Protestant employment profiles over the next twenty years, the NIO introduced a 'Targeting Social Need' (TSN) policy to reduce the differentials. The policy requires all Government Departments to identify those areas and people in greatest need and to target resources accordingly in order to reduce Protestant and Catholic differentials (Bradley, 1994). In his analysis of the policy, Colm Bradley goes further and proposes that all government decisions which have a major impact on employment should be measured against TSN policy (ibid.).[10] This would include financial commitments to the new campus.

Sectarian employment profiles bear little relation to the economic realities as experienced by working class Protestant people in the Greater Shankill area who have experienced previously unknown and unacceptable levels of unemployment coupled with the impacts of the conflict. Nevertheless, the profiles, and the experiences they silently represent, are part of the socio-economic, and political reality which continues to fuel division and marginalisation within and between these communities. One of the challenges in NI, and in particular for policy decisions in relation to the communities of north and west Belfast, is to redress sectarianism whilst ensuring that poor, working class Protestant areas are neither made to pay, nor feel they are paying, the price of compensatory policies. As well as being unjust, this would be counter productive.

A related challenge is to understand and treat sectarianism as an historical and social structure phenomenon: as a political relationship, rather than as resulting from individual religious prejudice. To treat sectarianism as personal prejudice alone mistakes the symptom for the cause. In an analysis of the components of coalition politics in the USA Sandra Harding (1992) examines prejudice in the context of relations between blacks and whites. What she has to say is salient to the problem of sectarianism in the context of some of the problems thrown up by Springvale: 'the tendency to define racism as "race prejudice" settles for an account that lodges responsibility for racism only on the already economically disadvantaged poor whites...who have not learned to avoid making overtly racist statements or have been rewarded for doing so as have middle-class people, and who are forced to bear a disproportionately large share of the burdens of affirmative action and equal opportunity programmes' (Harding, 1992). Working class Catholic and Protestant people have carried a disproportionate burden, as victims and as agents, of the political conflict and change in NI: 'What is urgently required is the comprehensive reconstruction of the Northern economy to tackle inequality on the basis of need. This could promote peace and reconciliation by impacting upon the poorest Protestants as well as the poorest Catholics' (McCormack and McCormack, 1995).

The UU has responded to immediate concerns about local employment in Springvale by agreeing a 25 per cent local labour clause in the construction jobs involved in building the proposed campus. Academic jobs and the projections about offshoot

jobs are a more complex and disputatious area. The consultation process is being actively pursued and funded by UU and will culminate in a conference in September 1995. Some of the community organisations I talked to have called for the consultation process to move to co-operation and partnership. They suggested that an advisory committee be set up consisting of local political, community and commercial representatives. The committee would have a remit to promote the interests of the local population. These people pointed to the location of QUB, fringed by working class Protestant and Catholic communities in south Belfast, and they asked what economic impact QUB has had on the job prospects of these people. They also point to existing colleges of higher and further education in north and west Belfast and repeat the question.

Grass roots organisations are worried that the campus proposal could appear to solve the problems that Springvale was set up address. It could stunt already limited NIO efforts to attract investment into the area. The campus could attract funding intended for west Belfast which could be put to be better use by local organisations. A number of people provocatively concluded variations of the following: 'it would be a pity if the university managed to unite the two communities on a picket line protesting about the campus'. Despite their reservations, and whilst expressing these views, people recognise that an industrial complex would be unlikely to conduct any consultation with local communities and job security cannot be guaranteed.

PART TWO: ADULT EDUCATION

Social Purpose and Local Reality

What of adult education and possible developments in the Springvale campus? In the language and intent of the Springvale proposal the UU appears to be going against the tide of UR universities in their move away from 'social purpose' towards 'new realism'. This shift has been traced by Roseanne Benn and Roger Fieldhouse (1994) who see 'adult education's specific commitment to the working class...replaced by a more nebulous commitment to the "educationally disadvantaged"' (Benn and Fieldhouse, 1994). This weakening of adult education as a social movement in the UK with political leanings (if not clear commitments) may be inevitable for a variety of reasons not the least of these being the ethos of universities: 'Universities have not traditionally seen their role as being about social change for various reasons including elitism and perhaps fear of political involvement' (Benn and Fieldhouse, 1994). University elitism and political involvement has been problematised in NI.

As an unproblematic concept 'social purpose' has relied too easily on apolitical assumptions of shared common sense values. Such assumptions are not feasible in the context of a politically, violently and vertically divided society such as NI. The language and implications of 'new realism' are just as problematic and as political, in different ways. 'Social purpose' provided a refuge, and a legitimacy, for the socialist commitments or aspirations of some adult educators in the U.K. 'New realism' links adult education funding to certification, accreditation and student numbers within and outside of the Higher Education sector. Some of the tensions of these developments, identified by Julia Preece (1994), are relevant for consideration here. Universities represent 'the extreme of all that is educationally unattainable for non-participant groups' (Preece, 1994). Tensions inherent in university outreach provision of uncertified community development work are exacerbated by fresh pressures from funding criteria. Funding criteria set by student numbers 'constrains how much attention should focus on the community development process' (ibid.).

Preece's analysis of university outreach derives specifically from her refreshingly frank assessment of Lancaster University's initiative to increase participation through outreach in its short courses. The 'Family and Local History Courses for Unemployed Adults in Barrow', had a number of successful outcomes but, 'classes have not contributed to wider political issues...the community education model is more one of enrichment than of political action or empowerment' (Preece, 1994). 'Empowerment' is gaining fresh ground in community development' and adult education. It is criticised by Elizabeth Ellsworth (1989) in her critique of critical pedagogy where the word flourishes unchecked either by definition or by questions about why particular groups require 'empowerment'; and what 'empowerment' might mean. The implicit claims of

this language are criticised for 'treating the symptoms but leaving the disease unnamed and untouched' (Ellsworth, 1989). 'The disease' does not have one name of course.[11] Ellsworth herself names several: racism, sexism, classism and so on. Tom Inglis (1992) is on more familiar and firmer terrain in UK and Irish adult education when he distinguishes between 'empowerment' and 'emancipation'. 'Empowerment' should 'be used to describe the role education plays in enabling people to operate effectively within the existing structures of power'; whereas 'emancipation' should 'be used to refer to the role education can play in helping people to reflect critically and struggle against the existing structures' (Inglis, 1992).

In anticipation of 'new realism' in Scottish universities, Jean Barr (1995) believes that adult and continuing education in Scottish universities should resist 'new realism' and defend, 'one of the few spaces left where the democratic control and development of knowledge can be and is pursued as an ideal of citizenship' (ibid.). These are stirring words that deftly manage to challenge the status quo and simultaneously use its 'citizenship' language. I want to believe Jean Barr's claims about the 'democratic control and development of knowledge'. Perhaps the changing political culture in Scotland and the strong tradition of adult education in Scottish universities generates democratic control and development in adult education.

Adult educators should be realistic, and honest, about what may be achieved within universities and by university outreach programmes. Stephen Brookfield (1983) challenges the claims that the ideals of 'emancipatory' community education processes can live alongside the elitism of university institutional biases. In a contribution to the related debate of critical pedagogy, he calls for modesty and critical openness from those who stand to gain most from, 'inspirational rhetoric that surrounds discourse on critical reflection' (Brookfield, 1994). The challenge should give some pause for frank reflection in the context of developments promised by university expansion in west Belfast.

Perhaps a healthy outcome of 'new realism' may be a withdrawal of university adult education from community development work. The assumption that university community development programmes are necessarily a 'good thing' needs to be unpacked and examined. Community development work in UU has largely been funded by the European Social Fund.[12] The university directly benefits from such projects. Hopefully, individuals taking community development courses also benefit. The most effective means of increasing empowerment, for individuals and for groups, is control of resources and of decision making related to resources.

The language and practice of adult education is rooted in various, and variously motivated, efforts to ameliorate, change or challenge the living circumstances of people who have been excluded from higher education. The language is important but it can be a distraction and/or a disguise. Specific and relatively small scale disempowerment (reduction in the ability to make life choices) can be named and even itemised. In a recent contribution to the debate about the Springvale campus, Jane Craven, Principal Lecturer in Whiterock College (west Belfast) highlighted the paradox of discussions about the exciting, costly new educational developments in west Belfast whilst debilitating changes to the economic status of mature students are being 'quietly introduced' (Craven, 1995). These mature students could be seeking access to university courses at the new campus if/when it opens at the turn of the century. It is beyond the remit of a university to challenge local government policy on fees for further education but ignoring the current educational needs and economic reality of the very people that the university hopes to target for the new campus may be a missed opportunity.

Visionary Opportunism?: The Challenge for Adult Education

Visionary opportunism may be a paradox. Reactions to the Springvale campus have been characterised as 'visionary' by some, and alternatively, as 'opportunistic' by others (Touche Ross, 1994). Perhaps the self conscious reality, for adult education, can be a combination of the two. The UU will benefit enormously from the massive investment that a new campus would entail. The proposal is 'visionary' in that the institution is having to adapt to local needs if the campus is to have a hope of working. The choice may be between building a 'fortress' campus on the peace line, for staff and student commuters, and

building a community based campus with valued dialogue and participation with local people. The latter could be visionary opportunism.

Adult Education and Community Development (AECD) within UU is already involved formally and informally in the Springvale proposal. AECD's current application for Higher Education Funding for a community outreach programme aims: "To increase access to and success in Higher Education among adults from disadvantaged backgrounds, by creating flexible and outreach-based provision, underpinned by guidance and staff and institutional development' HEFCE Application, 1995). The aims of the HEFCE Application are not driven by commitments to 'emancipatory education'; neither by 'critical pedagogy' nor by 'people's empowerment'. They combine ambitious mainstream educational targets with modest claims for overall impacts within the context of establishing good local community relations. In the absence of demonstrable, convincing employment benefits accruing to local people by the Springvale campus it could be more realistic to make commitments to work towards positive, realisable and ambitious educational targets.

In Conclusion

The cease-fires and the peace process have had a number of contradictory impacts on the Springvale proposal. The university's job of convincing prospective staff and students of their safety at Springvale is made easier. The argument that NIO's difficulties in attracting industrial investment were linked to levels of violence is weakened. On the other hand, there is much speculation about there being a 'peace dividend' in the form of money from Europe and the USA. At local levels there is speculation as to who will, and who will not, directly benefit.

People and community organisations in north and west Belfast have sustained their communities through dire crises and violent conflict. Skills and expertise have been hard won and are generally without formal recognition. West Belfast has established an internationally renowned annual music and cultural festival. The Greater Shankill area is engaged in an ambitious reconstruction programme (Greater Shankill Partnership, 1995). The university could set about facilitating this pool of expertise and skills. It could facilitate the redistribution of skills, know-how and expertise within and across communities. The pool of experience and expertise at this conference will hopefully provide fresh ideas for ways that adult education in NI may face into a more hopeful but daunting future.

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[1]NI is a small contested state of 1.5 million people. The unionist (Protestant) majority population support the union of NI with Great Britain and define the problem as the refusal of the nationalist (Catholic) minority to accept the legitimacy of a state which is supported by a majority of its citizens. Nationalists view NI as an artificial political entity which was gerrymandered in 1920 to ensure a permanent unionist majority. Over 3,300 people have been killed in the conflict and 22,000 have been charged with terrorist offences. In a country with the population of Canada (approx. 28m.) the numbers killed and charged would be over 59,000 and over 400,000 respectively.

[2]Community organisations contacted in the course of researching this paper said that the civil servants appointed to the Springvale initiative were middle ranking and nervous of decision making in relation to the politically sensitive area of west Belfast. They said that these civil servants had found it easier to do nothing than to induce hostile reactions by doing something that would be criticised. They contrasted the lack of success at Springvale with Laganside, a high profile inner-city initiative.

[3]For example, an early road proposal was scraped by UU when local people opposed it.

[4]The UU was formed in 1984 by an amalgamation of NUU and the Ulster Polytechnic. UU has expanded its Derry campus in Magee College.

[5]There was property franchise in local government elections which resulted in gerrymandering. Recent revelations of local government housing and spending practices in Westminster Council (GB) suggest that gerrymandering is not the anomaly that it was believed to be at the time.

[6]QUB has been criticised for sectarian employment practices. A number of cases have been successfully taken by the Fair Employment Agency against the university.

[7]There may be colleagues from native Canadian communities or from Quebec who can contribute to this discussion their experiences of contested territories and contested identities and their manifestations in universities..

[8]The university has been granted 5m. by the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) to investigate and develop possible local economic benefits of a campus. Local organizations have argued that they should have a share of this fund.

[9]For people in Shankill (Protestant) a key concern is primary school education and the low levels of interest in the adult population (especially males) in adult education. Adults in Shankill have a history of apprenticeship training leading to employment in the erstwhile major manufacturing and ship building industries. Catholic west Belfast has a history of adult education and qualification as a selective route into employment..

[10]Only one of 13 government departments has even embarked on the TSN programme (McCormack and McCormack, 1995).

[11]I dislike the metaphor but sectarianism is another -ism that can be added to Ellsworth's oddly, and politically undifferentiated list of oppressions.

[12]European funding criteria means that many locally based groups are unable to gain access to this funding and to the power over limited but important resources and decision making that it confers.

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THE DISINTEGRATION OF ANDRAGOGY, THE EMERGENCE OF THE SOCIAL LEARNING PARADIGM: THE DEMISE OF ADULT EDUCATION?

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On Being Perplexed

Anyone who dares to write a title for a paper such as this must be confused! My Oxford dictionary defines "confuse" as a "mix up in the mind" or to be in a state of disconcertion, perplexity or bewilderment. It is up to others to determine whether or not I am, indeed, mixed up in my mind. But I would admit to a fair bit of perplexity and bewilderment as I try to assess the current state of adult education as a field of study and practice. It is a pretty weird scene. No doubt my perception of the world is shaped by my particular location and experiences over the last few years.

The government of Nova Scotia is trying to rationalize the university system, and the faculties of education were targeted first. On January 10, 1994, a government appointed review team skipped around the province, talked to a few people, and recommended that the School of Education at Dalhousie (along with five others) be closed down. The review process focused only on K-12 teaching in formal school settings, yet because our graduate program of adult education was housed within the School of Education, I have had to spend an enormous amount of energy simply defending the need for a graduate program in adult education, which would be located at the home of the new faculty of education in metropolitan Halifax, Mount St. Vincent University.

For a while it seemed, in spite of government and university rhetoric about the importance of adult education to the future of the province, that a program that was never even reviewed would just sort of slip through the cracks. On February 7, 1995 the Academic Transition Committee decided that the adult education program should be located at Mount St. Vincent. I sent out the message to the Canadian adult education community that our program had survived. We were happy that the **status quo** had been maintained, and I received several notes of congratulation. These days a victory means preserving what we had. The rhetoric of the "learning society", circulating through elite channels, has not translated into any increased support and resources for university-based programs in adult education in Nova Scotia. We have been given only two positions in adult education at Mount St. Vincent.

Those of us on the left have been very critical of the professionalization of the study of adult education. But, watching events unfold here in Atlantic Canada as the cod fishery has collapsed, makes me feel very uneasy. The federal government has poured millions of dollars into training programs for displaced fishermen in Newfoundland. These programs violate most of the axioms of thoughtful adult educational practice, and there appears to be no controls whatsoever on who can teach these adults in need of retraining. Hucksters and con artists get contracts to "train" discarded fishermen; some of our talented university-educated M.Ed's cannot find employment. Mezirow's "Charter for Andragogy" looks quite appealing.

One could imagine that there would be hundreds of jobs opening up for community-oriented adult educators in Newfoundland. This has not happened. Prominent adult educators in Newfoundland, who used to work out of the highly regarded and now terminated Memorial University Extension Department, are scrambling after contracts to sustain themselves. Must Canadians go begging to the Carnegie Foundation, as they did in the 1920s and 1930s, for help? What is going on?

In this paper, I would like to cut in on a very complicated and chaotic situation, hopefully clearing enough debris out of the way to be able to ask some of the right questions. In the late 20th century, university-based adult education does not seem to have fulfilled the dream of the makers of the modern practice of adult education. In the 1950s, men like

Knowles, Houle and Verner dreamed of creating departments of adult education in the universities that would **monopolize** the training of all adult educators for a host of learning sites and life situations. The ideology of andragogy framed and unified the consensus-builders' practice and mission. This imperialistic vision—adult education as a professionalizing theory and credentializing practice—took shape in a time of the expansion of the post-World War II welfare state, boldly in the U.S. and somewhat hesitantly in Canada. The andragogical consensus began to unravel in the late 1970s, coinciding with the emergence of various critical perspectives (feminist, anti-racist, critical theory).

But the presence (some would say marginal presence) of critical discourses within the academic field, while important, itself intersected with two epochal developments: one, the globalization of capitalism with the ascendancy of its attendant ideology, neo-conservatism, which uncouples the market from state constraint and frees capitalist instrumental rationality to colonize areas of the lifeworld it had previously been prevented from entering, and two, the collapse of any kind of coherent emancipatory project of the left that provides unity to a diversity of oppositional currents in the society. The collapse of an oppositional political culture in Canada—the social democratic reformist left disintegrated because it complacently rode the coattails of the expansionist welfare state, and now that the coattails have been cut off, this left has skittered into oblivion—has meant that a market rationality meets little public resistance. With the Canadian adult education community in a fragmented, splintered and beleaguered state (without national and often regional leadership), the current rash of cutbacks to the "social sector" (withdrawal of funding to development education organizations and many voluntary associations involved in popular forms of adult education [like the CAAE]) rolls over us with scarcely any sustained, public opposition.

The Andragogical Dream: A Unified Professional Field

On Friday afternoon, 26 April 1957, at a historic meeting of the American Commission of Professors, Abbott Kaplan asked: "Are we all clear as to what the issue for discussion is? What is the content, the essential ingredient of adult education, that marks it off from other fields or disciplines?" As the transcript of this meeting records, Wilbur Hallenbeck replied: "There's another distinction isn't there, Abbott, that we've got to make? When we think about an academic discipline we are concerned with an area of knowledge; when we think of a profession like ***medicine*** (italics W.H.), we are concerned with a skill or application. How are we going to face this distinction?" Kaplan responded: "What you're really suggesting, Bill, is that in most professional fields you don't have a great deal of isolated knowledge peculiar to that field, but you have borrowings from many disciplines with a specialized application." Hallenbeck then commented: "Let's put it this way: an "MD" is negotiable, isn't it, because everyone knows what it stands for. Now we are talking about the thing or things—the degree doesn't matter—that makes adult education negotiable in the same sense. There isn't anything like that now...isn't this really the problem we're facing?" (Knowles Papers, 1957).

The university-based study of adult education, I contend, was faced at the outset with three choices: they could construct the academic field of adult education as a discipline (they would have to delineate an area [object] of knowledge), they could constitute adult education as a profession, with medicine as paradigm or they could ground systematically adult educational practice in an elaborated learning theory. The debate that followed the opening exchange between Hallenbeck and Kaplan manifests an acute ambivalence and angst about the choices to be made, with only a glimmering of what might be at stake with each choice. The American professors would, fatefully, opted for the professionalizing road to status and legitimacy within the academy.

During the 1950s, American adult education was constituted formally and systematically as an applied field, to be governed by its own logic (an adult constituency in particular settings [military, corporations, voluntary agencies] requiring particular educational services). Adult education was constructed, in Barry Hake's words, as a "culturally bounded normative theory of 'good' practice" (1992,p.69). As one peers through the window of the Commission of Professors meetings in the 1950s, one can see how a professionalizing sensibility (let us be like medicine) pulled the professors like a powerful

riptide away from deep and difficult metatheoretical questions of constructing a discipline of adult learning towards an arbitrary piecing together of elements that might add up to a distinct methodology for teaching adults and not children. The "essential ingredient" that "marked it off from other fields" was identified as "methdology." The andragogists contended that adults learned differently from children, adults were at different points along the life span; therefore they needed to have programs designed for them and teaching methods utilized which were attuned to the adult as learner. These methods were to be applicable to all adult learners, no matter what the particular context.

Once "adult education" had staked itself off as a separable territory in this manner (as an unique field of professional practice), its relationship to particular disciplines such as sociology or history could only be instrumentalized. Adult education now looked particularly to psychology, as Coolie Verner put it, for "bits of psychological knowledge pertaining to the adult". Verner was, however, puzzled about just how much psychology he "should be responsible for": what he should teach and what he should leave to departments of psychology (Hendrickson Papers, 1959). Having defined itself as the creator of knowledge for professional practice, adult education, like medicine, had to legitimate its claim to professional status by grounding its practices in "science", and psychology was the science of first choice. Another eminent participant in the Commission of Professors meeting of April 1957, Gale Jensen, contended that when developing a discipline, one had to develop two kinds of propositions: (1) "a set of propositions about the phenomena with which you're dealing and what the relationships to various variables are" (like physics), and (2) the "key set of propositions for the practitioner; these are the (engineering) propositions - that is knowing something about phenomena and then figuring out how you control it to produce certain kinds of changes" (Knowles Papers, 1957). Here it is: adult education is to be a technical-instrumental professional practice.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the makers of the modern practice of adult education attempted to create a unified field of adult education with professional status and legitimacy. From our vantage point in the dysphoric latter years of the 20th century, this project has failed. One could well imagine—it is not beyond the realm of human possibility—that "The School for Lifelong Learning" would have replaced the medical school for size, research funds, and variety of special departments. This, of course, has not happened. University-based programs of adult education (in various dress) do not have a monopoly on the training of educators of adults, and there is no formal credentialling, or licencing procedures, for those who would spend their lives educating adults in various settings. Many of the graduates of our program at Dalhousie (so many are passionate, talented, intelligent) work for extremely low salaries or precariously from contract to contract. Adult education, so intertwined with social work in the early 20th century as to be almost inseparable, has not even achieved the lowly status of social work by the 1990s.

In ***Human Understanding: The Collective Use and Evolution of Concepts*** **(1972)**, philosopher Stephen Toulmin, adopting an empirical and socio-historical approach to what constitutes a discipline, suggests that there are three models of a discipline: (1) the "compact disciplines" (like the hard sciences) whose activities are organized and directed towards a specific and realistic set of agreed upon collective ideals, and whose ideals impose corresponding demands on all who commit themselves to the professional pursuit of various activities; (2) the "diffuse" or "would-be" disciplines (like the social sciences and theology). These latter two categories are characterized by a lack of clear sense of disciplinary direction (with the host of unresolved problems that tag along) and a lack of adequate professional organization for discussion of new results. In the late 1990s, adult education is clearly not a compact discipline, and like theology, remains, perhaps forever, as a would-be. The dangers of being a diffuse or would-be discipline, however, are that we will be plagued with a continuous diffusion of energy, dissipating and pipelining into a variety of organizations and commitments; we will see the unending emergence of sects, schools, fads and new paradigms, without the power to impose any disciplining force in the service of coherence; too little mutual criticism upon agreed-upon standards and norms for academic performance. It is my very tentative view that the house of adult education is so utterly divided, some serve the system, others the lifeworld, that adult education will not ever become a compact discipline. But there is some small hope

that **something like** a social learning frame (which would argue that "nature" is always mediated by the social) could provide the collective ideal necessary for status as a compact discipline. Still, nipping at the heels of any such notion of compact discipline will be the Foucauldian hounds who will bark "exclusion" at every chance.

Nor could the "andragogical consensus"—legitimating adult education as a profession through constructing ideologies of adult uniqueness and correlative methods to teach them—possibly have survived three salient developments in the last decade and a half: (1) the emergence of a critical, contestatory spirit within the humanities and social sciences; (2) the emergence of progressive social movements (lest we forget that reactionary, anti-modernist social movements also exist) and the politics of difference, and (3) the globalization of capital, the triumph of neo-conservatism and the intense colonization of the lifeworld.

For about a decade and a half, voices from the margins of the field—armed with interpretive strategies from hermeneutical, critical and postmodernist studies—have been levelling four fundamental accusations against the modern practice of adult education: (1) adult education has abandoned its once vital role in fostering democratic social action; (2) the discipline of adult learning was based on a shaky foundation; (3) the contemporary modern practice of adult education is governed by an instrumental rationality that works to the advantage of business, industry, and large-scale organizations; (4) consequently, the guiding principle of the modern practice of adult education, self-directed learning, is conceptually inadequate to serve the interests of the poor, oppressed, and disenfranchised in global and North American society.

One of the most powerful critiques of the MPAE emerged from those scholars who argue that the boundary of adult education—delineated masterfully by Verner in his writings in the 1960s—had been arbitrarily constructed to exclude social movements. The professionalization and scientization of adult education as a field of study placed a fence around only one dimension of the human learning process, viz. the planning and teaching activities of the "professional" (credentialed) adult educator. But those outside the gates began to lay seige to the walls with intellectual battering rams. Historians and social movement activists began to remind those inside the gates that the most significant learning processes and outcomes, historically and contemporaneously, lay within the complexities of social movements. However, the moment social movements are included as objects of analysis within the field of study's boundaries the old paradigm disintegrates. It disintegrates because the old andragogical paradigm was grounded primarily in the ideology of the individual as learner and in a very unstable epistemological relationship to an asocial and ahistorical discipline like psychology. It simply bursts apart, unable to offer (perhaps even unwilling) any explanation for intersubjective learning processes in all of the domains within society. The turning away from fundamental metatheoretical questions regarding the disciplinary base for adult education in the mid-1950s has returned to haunt the field. The return of the repressed?

The Emergence of the Social Learning Frame

One might argue that including social movements within the field of study propels adult education towards a new boundary frame and a more solid disciplinary base. For the inclusion of social movements requires a social theory of learning within these movements. One cannot understand the historical emergence of social movements (as sites of emancipatory learning) without developing a theoretical framework able to specify the function of adult learning and education in the reproduction and transformation of social systems through time and space. Any adequate critical social theory of learning must be able to encompass processes of systemic learning (the organization of learning around the reproduction of the social order) and social revolutionary learning (the genesis and collective development of socially critical, system-challenging and bursting orientations of action which are tied to everyday lived pain and crises).

The central challenge, for both critical social theorists and historians, is to learn how to conceptualize all of society as a vast school. Human beings are material and historical beings who have the potential to learn about nature, others and the self. This learning is accumulated through time and is embodied in our ideologies, institutions, and social practices. It is also true, claims Habermas, that human learning can be

blocked and distorted, and that the conditions of our lives often prevent us from acquiring the competencies needed to develop and unfold our many-sided potentialities. I have argued in "In Defense of the Lifeworld: A Habermasian Approach to Adult Learning" (in **In Defense of the Lifeworld [Albany: SUNY Press, 1995]**) that the sociological frame of system and lifeworld is fundamental for any critical project of adult education, and communicative action the impetus for our educational practice.

A **social** learning boundary frame is absolutely essential. Like the word "critical", "learning" has now become a vogue word. There has been a decided shift in the discourse of adult education as a field of study since the 1960s from "education" to "learning." For me, this reflects the growing uneasiness with the professionalization of the field (the discourse of education becomes implicated in coercive, disciplinary, non-communicative practices). The adoption of the discourse of learning attempts to break out into a less controlled, more autonomous space. The problem with celebrating "learning"—be it self-directed or other—is that when we think of learning largely as an individual **process, the** structural context vanishes into thin air or fades out into the backdrop. Alan Thomas persists in thinking of learning as fundamentally a matter of the individual; so does Mezirow. Learning often seems, within these latter perspectives, to float in the sky somewhere. But we must understand that structures both create and constrain learning processes and content simultaneously.

Let me give an example: I have written that a "critical social theory of adult learning would argue that collective protest is best understood as a collective learning process. What are the external and internal conditions that enable critically reflective learning to occur within the movement site?" Browsing through a McGraw-Hill Developing Organizations series book, **The Organizational Learning Cycle: How we can learn collectively** (1994), I am taken aback...." collective learning"? Does Nancy Dixon, a graduate of a university Human Resource Department, mean the same thing as I do? Well, the idea of organizational learning, while appropriated and incorporated uncritically into a capitalist organizational framework, does signal interest in understanding the workplace as a learning domain, which necessarily means that one cannot possibly find much help within a psychologistic paradigm. But Dixon's notion of collective learning, drawn from organization development literature, takes for granted the overall organizational and socio-economic context of work. As Phyllis Cunningham would say, it's "learning for earning" despite the fancy talk.

The terrible problem with a notion like "Building the Learning Society" in the woeful political culture of Canada—the Mulroney government is still in power—is that the aphorism, the "learning society", masks fundamentally differing philosophical and socio-political agendas. Learning-in-itself is not emancipatory, and the current "learning agenda" in Canada is almost entirely driven by system-interests. Only a **critical** social theory of adult learning has the internal capacity and resources to ask whether our beliefs, values and interactions express dominative relations. Our vision of a learning society must be substantive.

The End of Adult Education?

In this final section I would like to offer a series of reflections on where we go from here in propositional form, based on the line of argument thus far.

1. I have been struck, in the last three or four years, by the number of critically oriented scholars who want to flee from the house of "adult education." What are they afraid of? Last year I had a conversation with a Dutch educator and he was earnestly suggesting that we ought to call it something else. Several feminists I know fairly well want to leave "adult education"; one even gets upset with the "learning turn" in some segments of the field. "Learning" seems anorexic to her when placed up against the substantive problems and struggles of community organizations. At a meeting of educators of adults in Toronto in April, 1995 several representatives from national organizations took offense at the idea of a "field of adult education." One eminent labour educator thought that by demarcating a field, one automatically excluded a range of groups and projects. Trade union educators, he said, did not particularly see themselves as part of this imagined field (That wasn't always the case historically, I retorted). And the acting director of the ICAE thought that

"adult education" was nothing much in itself; it takes on meaning only as a strand woven into life activity. By itself, adult education is a rootless plant. Several hypotheses suggest themselves:

(i) "Adult education" (as discourse and practice) in the modern world is such an integral part of the instrumental-adaptive, disciplinary apparatus of the system (state and economic steering media) that a number of radical thinkers feel that the only way any kind of critical project can move forward is through extricating itself from the clutches of "adult education."

(ii) The fear that "adult education" excludes points to the normative nature of disputes over the boundaries of adult education. Those who succeed in establishing a particular vision of the academic study of adult learning are necessarily determining what counts, or does not count, as objects of study and worthy practice. The labour educator feels more comfortable with the identification of "principles" and "practices" that are widely shared by educators of adults, and would like to create a category like "social change learning" as umbrella for a range of projects oriented to social justice. Thus, the idea of the "demise of adult education" could mean, in these cases, that some educators in the so-called "popular movements" have given up hope that "adult education" can house those who are opposed to the **status quo**. This issue is, in part, also a question of identity. What does "I am an adult educator" signify? Is this more vague than, say, "I am a feminist" or a "I am a labour educator" or "I am a popular educator"?

2. University-based programs educating educators of adults do not have a **monopoly** on the formation of these teachers. University continuing education programs are apt, these days, to look for people with marketing skills. In fact, I think that Schools of Business would even claim the "organizational development/learning" territory as their own, and that Business grads would compete for these jobs with those trained in adult education. Schools of Nursing and the Health professions now usually train their own health educators (I would add a caveat here, for our program at Dalhousie has had a significant impact on health education [nursing, occupational therapy, nutrition], but we have been lucky) and have their own education association. Continuing professional educators may or may not have any systematic training in graduate schools of adult education. On our campus, even the School of Public Administration has cut in on the community economic development field (which has, at least historically, been an integral part of the field of adult education). Bumblers have replaced the visionaries.

Thus, I believe we can pronounce the end of adult education if by this we mean the end of adult education as a unified professional field. "Adult education" has been carved up like Africa at the Berlin Conference of 1885 and many have scrambled to get a piece of it. Chaos and disorder reigns! Who's responsible for this wild state of affairs? For one thing, I think that the andragogical consensus was built on such a flimsy intellectual foundation—most graduate programs in adult education really were intellectually shallow, preferring rather common-sensical methodological tools to help adults learn as the primary professional knowledge—that people located in diverse sectors (health, continuing education, business, etc.)—figured they could appropriate these methods without having to grapple with any foundational theoretical or ethical issues. Secondly, it also has to do with the inexorable trend in late modernist capitalist societies towards fragmentation and specialization. Within each of the ever-proliferating expert cultures, adult education "specialists" emerge to manage the learning processes, often without any communication with specialists in other sectors. For instance, those HRD specialists within corporate organizations run their own conferences and sponsor their own journals, and may seldom, if ever, be in communication with adult education theorists. If they do, they slice in selectively to extract something useful for their methodology. Ironically, given the historic role of university extension departments in Canada in mediating knowledge to the people, even university extension departments appear to have cut important linkages with the academic community, sliding ever more into the icy arms of business.

3. My career as a university professor of adult education began in the early 1980s. While it is too

premature to pronounce the end of adult education in the Canadian university, right across this country, in faculty of education after faculty of education, graduate programs have been in danger of either losing their distinct identity or, worse yet, closing down. We have been vulnerable to dismantling. Do we know why? What would be lost if our reflective spaces within the academy disappeared? The uncertainty and confusion within our universities is exacerbated because the crisis of the academy intersects with the unravelling of the welfare state in the context of a global restructuring of capital.

4. One effect of the withdrawal of financial resources from voluntary associations and organizations within the social sector—that intermediate space between state and economy—is the shrinking of paid work for educators of adults. CIDA has cut funding for development education, and this will mean fewer jobs for community-based educators. Labour education will lose $3m. in funding over the next three years. The CAAE has had its core funding withdrawn. Couple these developments with the downsizing in important places of employment for adult educators like health and social services and the phrase, the "end of adult education" takes on yet another meaning.

Concluding Comments

1. The dream of a unified, imperialistic field of adult education has collapsed in the late 1990s. But there is no doubt that if one surveys the literature where adult educators periodically assess the state of things, the handwriting was on the wall decades ago. In the late 1960s, Sandy Liveright identified four problems which characterized adult education in the U.S.: (1) lack of sound philosophy; (2) irrelevance of content or subject matter; (3) under-utilization of resources; and (4) absence of a sound and accessible theory base (Udvari, 1972, p.236). Ten years later, Darkenwald and Merriam's popular survey of the field lamented that the "store of tested knowledge about adult education itself is sorely deficient", with "little cumulative development of knowledge on problems of central importance" (1982, p.232). Ten years later... The andragogical consensus has fallen apart at the seams. I think that the chaos and disorder so evident in the field of adult education as discourse and practice is largely attributable to the theoretical bankruptcy of the andragogical model. We are living in midst of convulsive global changes, which are shaking to the foundations our ideas about learning and the vocation of the adult educator (to recall Michael Collins). The old andragogical paradigm does not have the theoretical richness and depth of understanding of historical learning challenges and social learning processes to address current upheavals and to speak to its possibilities. A thoroughly professionalized practice easily capitulates to system-driven imperatives.

2. If university-based graduate programs in adult education do not have a monopoly on the formation of the educator of adults, what is the specificity of our role in the wake of andragogy's collapse? As capitalist rationality spreads into more and more areas of human experience and all education faculties are pressed to instrumentalize their training towards the new economic (dis)order, university-based programs of adult education must play four roles in the future: preservationist, prophetic, dialogic and utopic.

   (i) **Preservationist**: By preservationist I mean that, like Walter Benjamin's angel of history who was gazing backward as the winds of time swept her forward, university research and teaching ought to keep our historical memory of the struggle against system colonization of the lifeworld alive. A historical consciousness has never been mandatory within the andragogical model; this should change. In essence, a preservationist impulse is oriented toward remembering adult education as a communicative enterprise.

   (ii) **Prophetic**: By prophetic, I mean that we have the important but difficult task of negation. I believe that the university is still one of the few places in late capitalist culture that preserves within its normative framework a resistance to mere instrumentality. We are supposed to be a place for serious scholarly work and engaged with the most illuminating texts of the past and today. We are supposed to

shake our students' perceptions of adult learning to the core, to have them say that "before this seminar" they had "never thought" that "adult education" had "anything to do" with "civil rights or workers education." The prophetic task is one of denouncing and critique: we are supposed to ask hard questions about practices and policies within the complex field of adult learning. This view is open to the charge of elitism, of downplaying knowledge forms produced in the context of life activity. But I believe that capitalist rationality is so preeminent in the late 20th century, so unconstrained by oppositional forces, that adult education departments have a modest role to play in countering the harnessing of adult education to state and corporate agendas of maximizing profits and minimizing people.

(iii) **Dialogic:** By dialogic, I mean that since the commitment to unrestrained and uncoerced communication is at the heart of the adult education project, departments of adult education must attempt bold initiatives of creating spaces where many dialogue partners can engage one another about how we are going to learn our way out of our present predicament. I believe that the social learning paradigm is actually dispersed throughout the academy, and calls for vigorous and innovative dialogue with many sectors within the university. But I also think that our dialogic relationship with many persons and communities outside the academy must be examined. We have limited resources and huge demands on our time. In Halifax, for example, Donovan Plumb and I think that we need to establish on-going research and action projects, and use our graduate students to help carry on the necessary research and intellectual work of our field.

(iv) **Utopic:** By utopic, I mean that departments of adult education have the arduous task, in the period after the collapse of the andragogical consensus, of developing a **common conceptual apparatus** appropriate to our own evolving understanding of our time and how we ought to conceptualize adult learning in historical and social context. This conceptual framework would be the basis for the revitalization of the critical project of adult education towards the 21st century. I believe that **something like** the System/Lifeworld framework of Jurgen Habermas and others is essential for such a project; other views are, of course, conceivable. However, I also know that the articulation of a renewed critical project for our time faces formidable obstacles. First, the globalization of capital is moving in tandem with the **individualization** of system-generated problems. We need to understand theoretically why this is happening, and whether or not adult education can still act as an agency, mediating between global ideological and social orientations and individuals. Personally, I believe that "civil society could become the key concept of a new critical theory of all contemporary industrial societies, redeeming important elements of the heritage of both radical democracy and socialism" (Arato, 1989, p.133). I would add: redeeming impotant elements of historic adult education move ments that engaged in the gritty pedagogical work of creating an exuberant civil society (which is a code word for an important dimension of the lifeworld). Second, the utopic task of developing a common conceptual apparatus for our time is being proposed in the face of a strong anti-foundational mood. Deep suspicion abounds about all attempts to speak of the **common** or the **universal**. Any unifying framework for our field must respect the "unsurpassable plurality of interest and value orientations, of religions, worldviews, cultures and ways of life" (Dubiel, 1991, p.241). Nonetheless, I think it is possible, even in a tentative and open way, to respect difference and plurality all the while developing a theo retical framework that permits us to analyze learning in social context and articulate an generalizable emancipatory project.

The emancipatory or critical project is gravely endangered, and the secret of our project is captured in Benjamin's image of angels who disappear when they refuse to sing.

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THE COMPETENCE OF WORKER BEES: THE IMPLICATIONS OF COMPETENCE-BASED EDUCATION FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS

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Vasilisa Malygina sees changes in living as a form of learning; political education is not just a matter of new ideas, but of creating a culture of everyday life.'
(Rowbotham, 1977, 224)

Further Education in Britain

For the purposes of this paper the term Further Education (FE) refers to the college sector in England and Wales (Scotland and Northern Ireland being different in many respects), which has undergone a number of important changes in recent years. Before 1992 it was administered by local government and traditionally catered for that part of the population—i.e. the majority, mostly from working class backgrounds—who did not go into Higher Education but sought vocational education, sub-degree level academic qualifications and compensatory provision such as literacy, numeracy and language skills. Many colleges also housed substantial programmes of non-vocational adult and community education. In the 1980s increasing attention was paid to courses for the unemployed, women returning to the labour market and those requiring Access provision to enable them to enter Higher Education as mature students. Over the same period the Government exhorted employers to take a more active role in post-compulsory education and training, not just within their own organisations but through direct participation in the governance, administration and funding of further education. The FE sector is currently attempting to increase its student intake in order to comply with Government policy, and the majority of students are now adults, many studying on a part-time basis.

The 1992 Further and Higher Education Act removed FE colleges from local government control and administration and established them as 'corporations' funded by a central, non-elected agency, the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC); thus colleges are now responsible for their own finances, staffing, etc. Incorporation has introduced a new and powerful layer of financial and managerial control into colleges and has encouraged the growth of what is often termed the 'new managerialism'—the introduction into public sector organisations of management practices (and occasionally corruption) more commonly associated with profit-making businesses. One consequence of this is that an industrial dispute over new staff contracts has now been in progress for nearly two years; disaffection among lecturers in rife, and many are leaving the profession either voluntarily or through redundancy.

The FEFC also introduced an element of curriculum control to Further Education which was entirely new. Schedule 2 of the 1992 Act specified those courses which it could fund: courses leading to a qualification approved by the Secretary of State for Education, basic education courses and certain types of access and special needs provision. This was the first time that the Government had intervened directly in the content of FE provision, although it had for several years given a strong steer through various external funding programmes for which colleges could bid on a competitive basis. Schedule 2 represented the culmination of attempts over a number of years to reduce or eliminate the public subsidy of non-vocational and non-accredited courses in FE, and enabled the Government to give statutory weight to its new structure of competence-based vocational qualifications.

Vocational Qualifications

The National Council for Vocational Qualifications was established in 1986 to produce a coherent national framework of accreditation to replace what was perceived by some as a 'spaghetti soup' of competing examining bodies and routes through vocational education (Hyland, 1990). Existing courses were criticised as frequently irrelevant to the needs of employers and too concerned with subject knowledge rather than occupational competence (Jessup, 1991, 10). Some of these criticisms had already been acknowledged at this point within FE, and curriculum development work had focused on incorporating competence profiles, project work etc. into existing courses. However the task of formulating the structure and content of the new national framework was given not to those engaged in this type of work within further education, but to national employers' representatives and civil servants. Industrial Lead Bodies (ILBs) were established for each major occupational area and given the task of determining the structure and substance of the new competence-based qualifications. The structure of the new qualifications is shown at *Appendix A*.

National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) have been the subject of often hostile criticism since they were first established (e.g. Ashworth and Saxton, 1990, Chown 1994, Ecclestone, 1994, Hyland 1993, Edwards and Usher 1994, to name but a few). They are commonly criticised as behaviourist, atomistic, and deskilling in the sense that 'underpinning knowledge' is for the most part simply inferred from competent performance; there is usually no requirement for independent evidence of knowledge and understanding and where there is, the validity of evidence is itself often the subject of dispute. There is no curriculum; candidates are required only to provide evidence of competence according to the rather problematic but allegedly objective criteria laid down by the NCVQ. It is thus left up to colleges and to individual teachers to decide what a student actually needs to do to achieve competence. The justification for this is that it enables students to obtain credit for skills regardless of how they were acquired, and obviates the need to pursue formal courses; it offers, in short, flexibility. It is many ways ironic that this type of accreditation has now become the norm in FE, where the focus of so much curriculum development had been 'student-centred learning' and the desire to give students the opportunity to show what they *could* do, rather than demonstrate their deficiencies through examination failures and low grades. Learning is now individualised, both in schools and in colleges, to a point which would have seemed inconceivable a few years ago. It is becoming increasingly unusual for teachers to work through a syllabus with a group of students; they are more likely to find themselves negotiating individual 'learning contracts' and facilitating learning for individual students who are all working towards individual goals. The teaching task is clearly being transformed.

Early criticisms of the crude NVQ framework led to the introduction of *General* National Vocational Qualifications (GNVQs), which required some evidence of subject knowledge and incorporated tests and written examinations. The merits and deficiencies of GNVQs will not be discussed here since they have not been proposed as a route to a teaching qualification. However it should be noted that the problems of bias (Kilminster, 1994), inconsistency and varied interpretation of supposedly objective criteria have not disappeared with their introduction, and the FEFC has conceded that aspects of the new qualifications require further development (FEFC, 1994). Nevertheless, NVQs and GNVQs have perforce become a normal part of provision within FE, and have to a great extent replaced established courses of vocational education. This change has been accompanied by intensive staff development and the accreditation of many staff as 'assessors' of competence by exactly the same assessment procedures as they are now required to use on their students. There has been little open resistance to change, despite the many criticisms of the framework and the marked lack of enthusiasm for the new qualifications among employers - the very group in whose interests they were supposedly created (Field, 1995). Those within FE who do wish to draw attention to the deficiencies of the new system apparently find it necessary to conceal their identities and work within a clandestine organisation in order to protect their jobs (Bell, 1994), academic freedom being a rather scarce commodity in the current climate of new managerialism and 'gagging clauses'. There have been attempts to explore some of the implications of the new framework in a publicly accessible way (e.g. Smithers, 1993), but these have not generaliy aroused much public

interest. The reasons for the absence of effective resistance are further explored later in this paper.

Training for Teachers in Further Education and Schools

There has never been any requirement for FE lecturers to receive formal training in teaching skills. This may be due in part to the variety of academic backgrounds from which lecturers have been drawn; whilst the proportion of University graduates entering the profession has increased in recent years, many staff have vocational rather than academic qualifications. However colleges are increasingly demanding a teaching qualification on appointment or on a part-time in-service basis in the first years of a new appointment. Most recently, the qualifications available have normally consisted of an initial City and Guilds Certificate or its local equivalent, provided within colleges and aimed principally at part-time staff, and a more advanced Certificate in Education (FE) provided in higher education institutions. Neither of these qualifications is of equivalent status to those required of schoolteachers; since the mid-1970s, all schoolteachers must be graduates and must have either a bachelor's degree in education, or a first degree and a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) which confers qualified teacher status. Some Universities offer PGCE programmes in FE to the growing number of graduate lecturers, but the number of staff qualifying at this level remains relatively low, in part because the courses often require full-time attendance.

The initial qualifications for FE lecturers have tended to focus exclusively on teaching skills. Curricula have been relatively uniform because of the involvement of City and Guilds, a national examining body, in the award of certificates. More recently alternative competence-based certificates have been offered, and are becoming increasingly common. At the level of the Certificate in Education, however, there has been no such uniformity, and the variety of curricula has corresponded almost exactly to the number of institutions offering the qualifications. All institutions have had to obtain Department for Education approval for their courses, the only explicit criteria for approval being that an element of teaching practice should be included, and that courses should be at a higher education level—something which is clearly not susceptible to precise definition. Consequently it is almost impossible to make general statements about the content of Certificate in Education courses. It would nevertheless be safe to say that a number of courses - both in order to fulfil the vague requirement that work should be at a 'higher education level' and to promote 'reflective practice'—include elements which are knowledge-based and intended to illuminate the practical tasks of educational work by locating them within a number of theoretical frameworks - psychological, sociological, historical, and even occasionally philosophical. Others may concentrate almost entirely on the processes of teaching and learning, and some have moved in recent years towards including competence-based assessment in varying quantities (Garland, 1994; Maynard, 1995). One reason given for this development is that 'eventually all FE staff will be working with students on competency-based schemes, and their awareness and knowledge will be greatly enhanced if they have been through a similar process themselves' (Maynard, 1995, 126), an odd claim in view of the Government's inconsistent but obsessive affection for the 'gold standard' of the A-level examination, the traditional academic route to university matriculation, which remains a major element of FE provision. It is now proposed that a new structure of exclusively competence-based qualifications be developed to replace existing modes of teacher education in FE.

The variety of approaches evident in training for FE teachers contrasts sharply with the situation obtaining in initial schoolteacher training, a field which has been subject to central regulation for many years, and has had ideologically-driven changes imposed on it by Conservative governments since 1979. Gone is the standard diet of philosophy, psychology and sociology of education, the last of which was credited by populist right-wingers with producing a generation of over-politicised, specifically Marxist, teachers committed to offering 'indoctrinatory courses' (Scruton, Ellis Jones and O'Keeffe, 1985), and criticised with some justification for being more a rite of passage than 'real training' (Hodkinson and Issitt, 1995, 9). In its place is a form of training which increasingly emphasises work experience within schools under the mentorship of an experienced teacher. This element of the course now accounts for most of the year which graduate schoolteachers spend in training, and has eroded

much of the time once available to them for the consideration of ethical, political and philosophical issues arising from the educational process. More recently, assessment of competence has been added to the course, and trainee teachers are now required to 'start their careers with profiles of competence which set out their professional capabilities and give a picture of relative strengths and weaknesses' (Department for Education, 1993b, ch 6, § 4). The models of competence employed in training for schoolteachers and further education lecturers respectively will now be discussed in more detail.

Competence in Schoolteacher and FE Lecturer Training

Competence is now an element in the assessment of student teachers throughout the school age range (DfE 1992, 1993a). For the purposes of this paper, however, I have chosen to focus on the competences required of secondary teachers (i.e. those preparing to teach the 11-18 age range) since their work is closer to and sometimes overlaps with that of FE lecturers. These competences are listed at *Appendix B*.

As explained above, Certificate in Education courses for FE lecturers have never been subject to rigorous curriculum control. Competence has been a subject of interest within the field for some time (Tuxworth, 1982, CNAA, 1992), but the onward march of the NCVQ has now encouraged examining bodies and institutions to pursue the introduction of competence-based assessment into their courses with more vigour—meeting Government policy halfway, so to speak, in that this can be seen as voluntary preparation for something which may ultimately become compulsory anyway. Thus many Certificate in Education courses now include an element of competence-based assessment, usually in the form of units awarded by the Training and Development Lead Body (TDLB). This is an Industry Lead Body intended to cover the occupational competences required in all forms of training and staff development in public and private organisations. Some of the units awarded by this body are now compulsory for FE staff whose work entails competence assessment for NVQs and GNVQs.

At the time of writing the process of 'occupational mapping' and functional analysis of lecturer competences is underway (Prime Research and Development Ltd., 1995). The Further Education Unit, a government-funded FE research body, undertook a consultation in 1992 to assess the suitability of TDLB awards for FE lecturers (Further Education Unit, 1992) and, although the consultation resulted in some revisions to the proposed content of the qualification, appears to take the view that TDLB awards provide a suitable framework for the education and training of lecturers (Further Education Unit, 1994). It is difficult to find arguments for the introduction of competence-based qualifications in this field which focus on any *educational* advantages they might bring, for example by improving teaching. Instead, one finds 'the availability of national standards will provide a practical tool for the management and development of human resources, in further education' (Further Education Unit, 1992, 1), or 'FE colleges are well placed to explain to employers the value of competence based qualifications. It would be helpful if the FE sector could be seen to be supporting the implementation of such qualifications for its own staff.' (Chattaway, 1993)—a fascinating argument which offers strong support to Field's view that the 'quasi-market' for NVQs has been created largely by political pressure and the 'focused purchasing power of the state' (Field, 1995, 39). It seems likely that when the procedures associated with the creation of an NVQ are complete, the competences listed at *Appendix C* will form the basis of the new qualifications for FE lecturers.

There are some major differences between the approaches adopted for these two groups of professionals. The clearest and possibly the most important difference is that the competence profiles for school teachers are compiled only for *newly qualified* schoolteachers—i.e. student teachers must first undergo more established forms of assessment in order to obtain their qualification, and the competence profile is then compiled, without the benefit of performance criteria, from evidence accumulated during the academic and practical elements of their training. The profile is seen as a career-entry summary which is *additional to* the requirements of the training course (Teacher Training Agency, 1994), and is intended to provide the basis for further development, rather than to summarise all that needs to be said about the new entrant to the profession. Schoolteacher training thus includes elements of competence assessment only as an

addition to more traditional methods (albeit often employed in non-traditional ways, for example by schoolteacher mentors), and for this reason would be seen as quite unsatisfactory by supporters of the NCVQ's rejection of the 'educational model'. As Tomlinson points out, this set of competence statements appears to 'embody a somewhat mixed model, with apparent elements of the CBTE approach yet, if anything a preponderance of the traditional view of *competence as capacity* [...] There is reference to relatively specific aspects of teaching, but ... this does not approach the tick-box atomism of CBTE approaches.' (Tomlinson, 1995, emphasis added) The Teacher Training Agency is quite explicit in its opposition to the fragmentation of professional competence favoured by the NCVQ:

'It would not be appropriate in a career-entry profile intended as an easily usable basis for the next stages of professional development to record an assessment of each individual competence. Instead, providers should assess professional capabilities and give a picture of relative strengths and weaknesses in **areas** of competence, citing individual competences within these areas only when they relate to a newly-qualified teacher's particular strengths or development needs.' (Teacher Training Agency, 1994, 4)

This bolt-on approach to competence profiling as an addition to the existing, if constantly changing, arrangements for schoolteacher education contrasts with that embodied in the proposed NVQs for FE lecturers, which are intended to *replace* existing academic and professional courses with new qualifications composed solely of a series of competence statements. Furthermore the proposed initial qualification for lecturers is at NVQ level 3, claimed to be broadly equivalent to university matriculation level—a claim which is at the very least debatable, given the divergence of curricular approaches and assessment methods—and even the 'full' lecturer qualification at level 4 is below the level of a first degree. This can hardly be said to represent a professional level of competence, even if we share the NCVQ's dangerous assumption that competence is all that is required of professionals. The implication of these proposals is that teachers in post-compulsory education require lower levels of education and/or competence than teachers employed in schools—a view which has long been implicit both in the close attention paid to the regulation and content of schoolteacher training and in the contrasting public silence and virtual absence of policy in the field of training for FE lecturers, but which sits uneasily with the Government's noisy advocacy of post-compulsory education and training as a means to economic salvation (Rajan, 1994).

There are also marked differences in the content of the competences required of these two groups of professionals. The area of subject knowledge, for example, is entirely absent from the FE competences, but constitutes an area of competence in its own right for schoolteachers, although both groups are expected to qualify additionally in their teaching subjects. The vocabulary of the two documents suggests two very divergent conceptions of the educational process. Thus in the endearingly vague list of schoolteacher competences, we find 'pupils', 'subjects', 'knowledge', 'teaching'; FE lecturers on the other hand are required to deal with 'human resource requirements', 'organisational training and development needs', 'learning programmes', 'product delivery', 'individual learners' and 'customers' - the by now familiar discourse of the educational 'cult of efficiency' (Collins, 1991, 2). Teaching, students and courses, once generally considered to be the *raison d'être* of the FE college, seem to have disappeared from the picture. Indeed, at one local college lecturers are now being re-named *learning and assessment facilitators* or *officers*, demonstrating the extent to which teaching is now seen as an anachronism in some colleges.

Although both documents emphasise the individual learner, the FE competences at levels 4 and 5 focus increasingly on *organisational* needs rather than those of individuals, and these are the levels at which those providing continuing professional development for their teaching colleagues will be expected to qualify. The process of training and developing teachers is therefore conceived of principally as a form of organisational development—and it must be remembered that FE colleges now see themselves increasingly as commercial organisations. The model of progression embodied in this structure, whereby competence in design and delivery is succeeded by competence in management and staff development, provides support for Eraut's point that *improvement* to existing competences (e.g. teaching skills) is excluded by this approach: 'A competency model suggests that progression lies mainly in increasing

the number of competencies rather than improving those you have already got.' (Eraut, 1989, 181)

Another of the areas of competence listed for schoolteachers, 'an understanding of the school as an institution and its place within the community' (2.6.1), has no parallel in the FE structure. Indeed it is debatable whether it can meaningfully be described as a competence at all. It does however have parallels in many of the Certificate in Education courses currently on offer in Universities, which will disappear if the proposed qualification gains approval. This statement is as vague and open to interpretation as most of the others in the list, but it obviously provides a space for collective consideration of the possible understandings of educational institutions and their social functions, roles, purposes etc. which will not be available to individual lecturers in FE. Crucially, it can enable teachers to consider *why* they teach, rather then simply *how*. A colleague and I teach a course on the Leeds Certificate in Education entitled 'FE in Context' in which we try, with varying degrees of success, to encourage students to consider the social nature of their work, why it has developed as it has, whose interests it serves and its place within the wider education system. Some students find this very hard going at first, particularly if they have had little or no academic experience. However most eventually recognise the importance of considering education not merely as a classroom transaction but as a social process. Some have expressed real anger at the way in which their own education has been channelled and impoverished because of their class background, sex or race. Many take a more critical look at their own work and institutional position in the light of discussions about education and the labour market, or management practices within FE. Some decide that they wish to take their studies further and progress to degree courses.

Whilst not wishing to make any wild claims about the value of this short course, which is a perennial source of frustration due to the wide variety of student backgrounds and the lack of time available for detailed discussion, it seems clear to me that it and courses like it are an essential element in teacher education. One of the main dangers evident in the competence-based approach to the training of FE lecturers is that it excludes opportunities for the critical consideration of educational purposes. This renders 'nurturing a principled vocation' (Collins, 1991, 80) almost impossible—principles being notably absent in any explicit form from the proposed qualification—and has implications for the lecturers' view of their own teaching and students, since 'the way adult educators envisage professionalism, training and the problem of competence within their own ranks shapes their pedagogical strategies in other contexts.' (ibid.). The approach adopted in schoolteacher training accommodates an element of vocational nurturing, although the categories and assumptions employed are open to criticism; the crucial point is that this criticism can itself form part of the training.

The Role of Universities

Although trainee schoolteachers are now required to spend a much greater amount of time in schools than was previously the case, they are still normally required to be graduates and to attend and obtain a qualification from a higher education institution. In this respect teachers have not been 'proletarianised' to the extent that is sometimes suggested, although their work has obviously been transformed by the introduction of the National Curriculum and regulation of their working conditions. NVQs, however, are seen primarily as a framework for *workplace* assessment; they are specifically intended to be free of any requirements regarding attendance at an educational institution or particular modes of study (NCVQ, 1988) (so it is technically possible for someone with no formal education whatsoever to be awarded an NVQ—'world-class' training indeed). The introduction of NVQs as the recognised FE teaching qualification would therefore remove any necessity for Universities to be involved in the training of lecturers; assessment could take place on an individual basis within colleges, and lecturers would not need to be released for inflexible, time-consuming and expensive courses of collective study. The attractions of this change to college employers, particularly in the context of incorporation, tight budgets and new managerial practices, are not difficult to discern.

An awareness that Universities may lose their role in the training of FE lecturers has prompted a number of them to join forces in order to provide a more-or-less united voice in the policy debate (should one occur), through the creation of the Universities

Professional Development Consortium (UPDC) in 1994. Those institutions where such courses form a substantial element of education-related provision are understandably concerned at the prospect of losing a major area of work, and wish to protect both their own position and the type of provision they make. However the UPDC also serves as a further example of the current tendency of professionals in post-compulsory education to ease the Government's task by voluntarily preparing the ground for anticipated policy change; one of its first actions was to establish itself as an awarding body for NVQs, thus making it possible for member Universities to award the new qualifications for FE lecturers before they had even been approved.

Although there has recently been some interesting debate about the merits of competence-based qualifications within the UPDC, its *actions* suggest a rather fatalistic attitude to their growing domination of educational activity in Britain. This fatalism is sadly characteristic of much current educational debate in Britain, and has been fostered by the explicit denigration of professional opinion and the strongly interventionist stance on education policy adopted by the Government, which have proved fairly successful in respect of competence-based qualifications as 'a means of producing consent without the need for oppression and force' (Edwards and Usher, 1994, 2). The Government has been aided in its endeavours by the 'projection [of CBET] as a "progressive" form of educational and training practice ... through its articulation in humanistic language and practices' (ibid. 8), which has enabled the 'new model' to gain piecemeal acceptance among professionals who were already trying to develop alternatives to the 'old model'.

One of the major differences at the moment between Universities and FE colleges is that the possibility of dissent and criticism still exists (with some exceptions and perhaps only for the time being) within the former, but has all but disappeared within the latter. The new contracts on which many FE lecturers are now employed, which were demanded of colleges by the Government and have led to a long and bitter industrial dispute, are remarkable in the extent to which they demand that organisational loyalty take precedence over professional commitment. The incorporation and consequent commercialisation of colleges has led many managers to take the view that commercial considerations, for example in respect of intellectual property, staff 'poaching' and competition, should determine the terms of lecturers' employment. Thus it has become impossible in many colleges for lecturers to make any public comment on or criticism of aspects of their own college or the work in which they are engaged. The chances of colleges promoting a critical spirit in their in-house training and assessment of lecturers must therefore be regarded as fairly slim, firstly because the new qualifications do not encourage such an approach, and secondly because it would serve no commercial purpose and could even cause them managerial problems. Evidence of the growing reluctance of colleges to provide their staff with opportunities to reflect on the implications of their work is provided by the virtual disappearance of college sponsorship of staff studying for Master's degrees, until quite recently a standard and valued form of staff development which was supported both by colleges and by central Government.

The insecurity induced by legislation and new management practices has encouraged lecturers to focus their attention on working through their trade unions to resist the imposition of new conditions of service. Their attention has been efficiently diverted from the wholesale introduction of competence-based assessment and the impending changes to their own professional training and status, and open dissent and criticism have simultaneously been rendered difficult or impossible. The provision of lecturer education within Universities thus represents one of the few opportunities left to FE lecturers to engage in critical discussion of and comment upon the education system in general and their own work in particular.

This could in itself constitute an argument for the retention of the Universities' role, although the growth of competence-based assessment on some University courses undermines the argument somewhat. It seems unlikely, however, that most Universities would support the provision of *exclusively* competence-based qualifications on the NVQ model; most of the public criticism of the competence-based education and training emanates from Universities rather than colleges, for obvious reasons, and such a move would also endanger their claim to a qualitative difference from FE. There is therefore reason to hope that, given the opportunity to preserve their

role, Universities would be able to provide lecturers with opportunities which will be unavailable in most colleges. This is clearly a pragmatic argument, reflecting my own concern to salvage elements of current lecturer education which I feel are essential both to the lecturers themselves and, perhaps most importantly, to their students.

Professionalism

The question of professionalism is clearly relevant here. Much of the debate about professionalism within post-compulsory education has focused on the tension between professionalisation and the social commitment claimed by generations of adult educators. FE lecturers have never been entirely successful in their attempts to be recognised as professionals, not least because of the low esteem in which colleges, their largely working-class students and their mostly sub-degree level provision have traditionally been held in the deeply stratified British education system. A commitment to emancipatory practice has nevertheless long been common among FE lecturers, and indeed FE could be seen as a more promising site for such practice than Universities offering liberal adult education, given the nature of the student intake. However, research on FE constitutes a tiny proportion of educational research in Britain, despite the fact that the sector caters for more students than any other branch of post-compulsory education. The absence of any recognised route into the profession has also undermined claims to professional status.

Whilst recognising the validity of some arguments against professionalisation, I would share Collins' view that a professionalism composed of 'serious commitment to the task at hand, competence and a measure of self-directedness unencumbered with a high concern for exclusive self-interests' (Collins, 199, 87) is compatible with the 'vocation' of educating adults. Now, however, FE lecturers are to be offered a standard route into the profession which offers them only one of these constituents—competence—whilst the absence of the other constituents inevitably casts doubt on the extent to which competence of any meaningful kind can actually be achieved. Moreover the model of competence employed is one which is widely criticised as inappropriate, particularly to professional work (Gonczi, 1994, 41, Eraut, 1994), lacking as it does the independent and critical perspective which was until quite recently deemed to require more active development in FE training (HM Inspectorate, 1991). The level, content and structure of the qualifications are not compatible with professionalism but, particularly at level 3, are more appropriate to the training of production operatives working with predetermined materials and processes.

This change is taking place at a time when other occupations traditionally granted only semiprofessional status, such as nursing and other professions allied to medicine, are opting for degree-level study in Universities as the principal training route, with NVQ qualifications offered as a lower-level training route for ancillary, nonprofessional staff. This type of occupational stratification may well give cause for concern, although it is difficult to resist the argument that nurses should be released from the menial (and of course feminine) tasks of bedmaking and bedpan disposal, which cannot be said to require extensive training, and given the opportunity to utilise their skills and knowledge in a more autonomous way. In the context of this paper, however, the most notable point about the new arrangements for nurse education is the extent to which they differ from those proposed for FE lecturers. One profession is actively opting for the 'educational model', raising the educational level of its qualifications and enabling its members to acquire a greater measure of creativity and 'self-directedness', whilst continuing to promote their competence; the other is proposing to adopt a qualifying route at a sub-professional level which reduces the delicate and humane work of education to a series of technical performances measured according to externally-determined specifications.

Implications of the New Structure

What, then, are the advantages of this new type of training for lecturers? For those of us not enamoured of either the NVQ model of competence or the brave new world of FE, they are inevitably difficult to fathom. From a different viewpoint, where the principal function of FE colleges is seen as the efficient production of willing, competent and compliant employees, the advantages become clearer. The evidence required for NVQs involves not only straightforward performance of tasks, but also attitudes appropriate to employment in particular occupational areas, and behaviour in

accordance with organisational requirements and norms. Returning once more to Collins' point that 'the way adult educators envisage professionalism, training and the problem of competence within their own ranks shapes their pedagogical strategies in other contexts' (Collins, 1991, 80), we can see that this training strategy closes the circle of socialisation by creating the 'culture of everyday life' to which Rowbotham refers (1977, 224). FE lecturers trained in this way will be not only less likely to baulk at what they are asked to do to their students, but also more likely to display compliant, organisationally-appropriate attitudes and behaviours themselves. The NVQ is thus as much a tool of industrial relations and political education as of vocational training; lecturers 'themselves become the subjects of their own surveillance ... disciplined through self-discipline' (Edwards and Usher, 1994, 11), and all the more ready to promote such discipline in others.

This development has to be seen in the context of broader educational policy in Britain. One of the espoused aims of Conservative policy in post-compulsory education has been to promote 'parity of esteem' between academic and vocational qualifications (DES/ED, 1991). However the principal target of direct curricular intervention has been Further Education, where the majority of vocational qualifications are awarded; the standard academic route into higher education is specifically excluded from reform, and Universities retain considerable curricular autonomy. The huge expansion in higher education student numbers has done little to change the class and ethnic make-up of the sector; the imposition of NVQs and GNVQs in FE thus predominantly affects working class students. This group is already a long-term casualty of the 'counter-feiting of skilled labour [which] consists of describing instructions in very basic skills as "training", internal rating by supervisors as "assessment" or "testing" and the end result as a "qualification"' (Corrigan, Hayes and Joyce, 1991, 69). Now their teachers, by undergoing the same process, are to be better prepared to legitimise and collaborate in this deception.

It would of course be inane to argue that FE lecturers do not need to be competent, and the critical attention to which higher education has been subject in recent years has often centred precisely (and justifiably) on the fact that traditional academic approaches do not necessarily produce competent professionals. However the NVQ approach to lecturer education is not the answer to this problem, nor indeed to the economic problems which NVQs are supposed to solve. By excluding the critical consideration of educational purposes it effectively reduces the educator's role to that of technician, impoverishing both lecturer and student. Its focus on organisational commitment promotes compliance and excludes any understanding of the forces which shape lecturers' own work and that for which they prepare their students. The approach used for schoolteachers, whilst not by any means unproblematic, does at least guarantee a space in which educational commitment and engagement can be cultivated. It is essential that Universities resist the temptation to 'go with the flow' of state policy in this area and refuse to be lured by siren calls for 'relevance to employers' needs' into the provision of predominantly or exclusively competence-based, and thus educationally unbalanced, qualifications. The crucial position of Universities, as the educators of those who educate the rest of the population, makes it imperative that they use their programmes to promote engagement, understanding, competence and creativity among practitioners—*not* to assist in the creation of a docile and compliant (albeit competent) educational workforce.

I would like to thank Paul Garland and Philip Harris-Worthington, two of my postgraduate students who have engaged with me in lively debates on some of the issues covered in this paper.

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National Vocational Qualifications Structure

Level I Competence in the performance of a range of varied work activities. At a similar standard to pre-vocational certificates or semi-skilled training (*equivalent to the lowest grades of the GCSE secondary certificate taken at 16 years*).

Level II Competence in a significant range of varied work activities performed in a variety of contexts. Individual autonomy and collaboration with others may also be a requirement. At a similar standard to basic craft certificates, GCSE and BTEC First Award (*i.e. higher grades of secondary certificate and basic level vocational training*).

Level III Competence in a broad range of varied work activities; considerable responsibility and autonomy; control/guidance of others. At a similar standard to National Diplomas, Advanced Craft or A/AS levels (*i.e. University matriculation standard*).

Level IV Competence in a broad range of complex technical and professional work activities; substantial degree of personal responsibility and autonomy; responsibility for the work of others and allocation of resources. At a similar standard to Higher National Diplomas and lower professional standards (*i.e. below the level of a Bachelor's degree*).

Level V Application of a significant range of fundamental principles and complex techniques across a wide variety of contexts; substantial personal autonomy; accountability for analysis and diagnosis, design, planning, execution and evaluation. At a similar level to vocational postgraduate professional qualifications.

from Hall, V. (1994), 48-49.

Italicised sections have been added.

COMPETENCES EXPECTED OF NEWLY QUALIFIED TEACHERS

2.1 Higher education institutions, schools and students should focus on the competences of teaching throughout the whole period of initial training. The progressive development of these competences should be monitored regularly during initial training. Their attainment at a level appropriate to newly qualified teachers should be the objective of every student taking a course of initial training.

Subject Knowledge

2.2 Newly qualified teachers should be able to demonstrate:

2.2.1 an understanding of the knowledge, concepts and skills of their specialist subjects and of the place of these subjects in the school curriculum;
2.2.2 knowledge and understanding of the National Curriculum and attainment targets (NCATs) and the programmes of study (PoS) in the subjects they are preparing to teach, together with an understanding of the framework of the statutory requirements;
2.2.3 a breadth and depth of subject knowledge extending beyond PoS and examination syllabuses in school.

Subject Application

2.3 Newly qualified teachers should be able to:

2.3.1 produce coherent lesson plans which take account of NCATs and of the school's curriculum policies;
2.3.2 ensure continuity and progression within and between classes and in subjects;
2.3.3 set appropriately demanding expectations for pupils;
2.3.4 employ a range of teaching strategies appropriate to the age, ability and attainment level of pupils;
2.3.5 present subject content in clear language and in a stimulating manner;
2.3.6 contribute to the development of pupils' language and communication skills;
2.3.7 demonstrate ability to select and use appropriate resources, including Information Technology.

Class Management

2.4 Newly qualified teachers should be able to:

2.4.1 decide when teaching the whole class, groups, pairs or individuals is appropriate for particular learning purposes;
2.4.2 create and maintain a purposeful and orderly environment for the pupils;
2.4.3 devise and use appropriate rewards and sanctions to maintain an effective learning environment;
2.4.4 maintain pupils' interest and motivation.

Assessment and Recording of Pupils' Progress

2.5 Newly qualified teachers should be able to:

2.5.1 identify the current level of attainment of individual pupils using NCATs, statements of attainment and end of key stage statements where applicable;
2.5.2 judge how well each pupil performs against the standard expected of a pupil of that age;
2.5.3 assess and record systematically the progress of individual pupils;
2.5.4 use such assessment in their teaching;
2.5.5 demonstrate that they understand the importance of reporting to pupils on their progress and of marking their work regularly against agreed criteria.

Further Professional Development

2.6 Newly qualified teachers should have acquired in initial training the necessary foundation to develop:

2.6.1 an understanding of the school as an institution and its place within the community;
2.6.2 a working knowledge of their pastoral, contractual, legal and administrative responsibilities as teachers;
2.6.3 an ability to develop effective working relationships with professional colleagues and parents, and to develop their communication skills;
2.6.4 an awareness of individual differences, including social, psychological, developmental and cultural dimensions;
2.6.5 the ability to recognise diversity of talent including that of gifted pupils;
2.6.6 the ability to identify special educational needs or learning difficulties;
2.6.7 a self-critical approach to diagnosing and evaluating pupils' learning, including a recognition of the effects on that learning of teachers' expectations;
2.6.8 a readiness to promote the moral and spiritual well-being of pupils.

from Department for Education (1992), Annex A

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Proposed Qualification Structure (FE)

Unit title	Level 3	Level 4 learning	Level 4 HRD	Level 5
Identify organisational human resource requirements				core
Specify contribution of TD to organisational development			O	core
Identify organisational TD needs			core	
Identify individuals' learning aims, needs and styles		core		
Identify individual learning needs	core			
Develop TD strategies which meet organisational requirements				core
Devise a plan for implementing an organisation's TD objectives		core	O	
Design learning programmes to meet learners' requirements		core		
Design TD sessions	core			
Design, test and modify TD materials		O	O	
Design, test and modify IT-based materials		O	O	
Prepare and develop resources to support learning	core	O		
Co-ordinate provision of learning opportunities with other contributors to the learning programme		O	core	O
Create a climate conducive to learning	core	core	O	
Agree learning programme with learners	O	core	O	
Facilitate learning in groups through presentations and activities	core			
Facilitate learning through demonstration and instruction	O			
Facilitate individual learning through coaching	O			
Support and advise individual learners		O	O	O
Facilitate group learning	O	O		
Monitor and review progress with learners	O	core	O	
Assess individuals for non-CB assessment systems	O	O	O	
Design methods to collect evidence of competent performance		O	O	
Assess candidate performance	O	O	O	
Assess candidate using diverse evidence	O	O	O	
Support and verify the internal assessment process		O	O	
Monitor and assure the quality of the assessment process		O	O	
Advise and support candidates to identify prior achievement	O	O	O	
Evaluate the contribution and role of TD within an organisation				core
Introduce improvements to TD in an organisation				core
Evaluate TD programmes		core	core	
Improve TD programmes		O	core	
Evaluate TD sessions	core			
Evaluate and develop own practice	core	core	core	core
Manage relationships with colleagues and customers	O	O	core	
Develop TD methods		O		O
Develop new approaches to TD				O
Maintain and improve services, products and systems			O	
Initiate and implement change in services, products and systems				O
Monitor, maintain and improve service and product delivery				O
Contribute to the planning, monitoring and control of resources	O			
Recommend, monitor and control the use of resources		O	O	
Monitor and control the use of resources				core
Secure effective resource allocation for activities and projects				O
Contribute to the provision of personnel	O			
Contribute to the recruitment and selection of personnel		O	O	O
Create, maintain and enhance effective working relationships				O
Exchange information to solve problems and make decisions		O	O	

abbreviations: CB - competence-based; IT - information technology; HRD - human resource development; O - option; TD - training and development;

from Training and Development Lead Body, 1994

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON WORKERS AND WORKPLACE LEARNING: RECONNECTING LABOR EDUCATION AND ADULT EDUCATION

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Introduction

University labor education[1] and university adult education have had a curious relation ship in the United States. Unlike in most other countries, where adult education and labor education have been closely related, in the United States labor and adult education have largely gone their separate ways. Over the last two decades, with a few exceptions, American labor educators and American adult educators have not participated in each others research conferences, nor published in each others journals. What makes this even more striking is that scholars who in an American context would be identified as labor educators do present at American adult education research conferences and do publish in the two fields premier research journals, *Labor Studies Journal* and *Adult Education Quarterly*. Yet almost without exception, these scholars are all non-Americans.[2] This paper explores the reasons for the division between university adult education and labor education from a historical perspective.. The paper argues that adult education and labor education do have a commonality of interest and makes suggestions for future commonality

Similarities Between Labor Education and Adult Education

A review of the literature in *Labor Studies Journal*, reveals some striking similarities between the two areas. Both labor education and adult education are relatively small fields. The University and College Labor Education Association claims a membership of between 200-300, roughly similar to that of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education or the Adult Education Research Conference. Both fields are concerned with the education of adults, and both emphasize that working with adults is different than working with children. Scholars in both fields have often seen their area as an "emerging" academic disciple and articles stressing this emerging nature are common in both fields, especially in the 1970s. More recently, this optimistic tone has been replaced by sense of crises, with both adult educators and labor educators wondering if their fields are to disappear from the university in the near future. In a debate familiar to adult education, disagreements have arisen over the increased professionalization and academization of labor education, with some arguing that labor education has lost its sense of mission by becoming interwoven with the university while others argue that in order to survive labor education needs to overcome its anti-intellectual stance and become more like an academic discipline. Similarly, both fields have alternately expressed concern over their marginal status within academe while, at the same time arguing, that this marginzliation allows the field a kind of flexibility not available to more established disciplines.

Familiar also to adult educators is the debate over the purpose of education. Some argue that the primary purpose of labor education is to provide "tool" courses (skill-based course) for union leadership roles others for a more liberal arts perspective focusing on su[illegible]pics as labor history and labor economics. Just as in adult education, many labor educators have argued that, ultimately, labor education should do both. Moreover, even a cursory review of *Labor Studies Journal* reveals other broad resemblance's with *Adult Education Quarterly*. Articles in both journals offer a variety of methodological perspectives. Historical, sociological and psychological approaches appear in both. Indeed, some topics such as how to motivate adults, doing needs assessment, evaluation and program planning are familiar to most adult educators.[3]

These similarities should, of course, not be exaggerated, for there are obvious differences between American academic labor education and adult education. For

one thing, labor education has been historically intimately connected with a social movement. Even Parsons, who argues that labor education needs to become more academic and less service centered states that : "The two [labor unions and labor education] are so intertwined that the fate of one is often the fate of the other."[4] Thus, at least until recently, labor education has been much clearer about its ultimate purpose: the building and strengthening of the labor movements.[5] Thus while the process of how to best achieve this objective has been in dispute, the ultimate objective has not. Moreover, unlike their adult education counterparts, most academic labor educators are engaged in teaching union members outside the credit structures of the university as part of their regular academic load. [6]

Workers' Education Versus Adult Education

Conceptually, Richard Dwyer has divided the history of labor education into three distinct developmental periods. The first period, from about 1900 to 1935, Dwyer categorizes as the workers' education stage. It's basic objective was to promote education for social transformation. The second stage, labor education, lasted from approximately 1935 to 1965. This stage focused on meeting the needs of the trade union movement. Finally the third stage, from roughly 1965 on, focuses on university based education.

Dwyer's historical categories have had a wide influence within labor education, serving as a basis for most of the historical examinations of labor education. Nevertheless, several critics have pointed weaknesses in Dwyer's' scheme. Towers has noted that periodization in history is problematic and that different categories can exist within different periods. Thus the philosophy of workers' education may still exist within labor studies and in some cases labor education is subsumed under labor studies. Similarly, McIlroy and Spencer have pointed out that a historical stage approach may give too great an impression of unity within a particular period and downplay disagreements between different education organizations within each historical stage.[7] Schied has taken a harsher stance arguing that,

> [Dwyer's] model can be seen as a defense of professionalization of the field of labor studies. Education for workers began as social move ment, developed into union education, and emerged as a highly specialized university-controlled field ready to certify its graduates. In Dwyer's conceptualization the focus on the education of the worker disappears, gradually replace by the increasingly professionalized union official taught by a university trained academic.[8]

In a much cited article, Liberthal makes a similar point when expressing deep reservations noting that the "specter of academic imitation haunts university and college labor education."[9] Despite these criticisms, Dwyer's scheme has remained the primary organizing point in the study of the history of labor education. In order to understand more clearly the development of labor education and its relationship to adult education , a brief discussion of the history of the field follows.

While the roots of American workers' education can be traced back to the early nineteenth century, most scholars trace its formal origins to the creation of Ruskin College in 1901. Under the sponsorship of the historian Charles Beard (a future president of the American Association for Adult Education) and Walter Vrooman, Ruskin College was based on Oxford University's famous workers' education college. While Ruskin College ultimately failed, labor colleges such as Brookwood Labor College throughout the country thrived. By the mid 1920s, over three hundred labor colleges were established with an estimated enrollment of over 20,000. Unions such as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) under its education director Fannia Mae Cohn, established Workers' Universities where "no line was drawn between education, politics, and revolutionary agitation."[10] By the early 1920s the Workers Education Bureau (WEB) was created to assist in educational work of the labor colleges. The WEB's journal, *Workers' Education* , was the first professional journal specifically dealing with the education of adults. By the time the meetings that lead to the creation of the American Association of Adult Education (AAAE) were organized in the mid-1920s a vibrant, rich and broad based independent workers' education already existed.

Jonathan Bloom has argued that the reaction of those involved in workers' education to the newly created

AAAE was less than favorable. A.J. Muste, Chairman of the Faculty at the most prominent labor college, Brookwood, stated: "We here at Brookwood are very doubtful indeed whether we are going to go along with the American Association for Adult Education, which is expected will spring out of these conferences." Muste noted that those attending the conferences "pretty definitely represent a point of view, whether consciously or unconsciously. That point of view is not the same as ours." Arthur Calhoun, Brookwood's Director of Studies stated: "There can be nothing but war between the Adult Education movement, with its 'civic' aims, and the Workers' Education movement, with its class mission." The reasons for this mistrust have been well documented. Bloom notes that the Carnegie Corporations involvement in the AAAE made those involved in workers' education immediately suspicious. Carnegie's involvement in anti-labor activities, particularly the Corporations brutal repression of the Homestead Steel strike in the 1890s made the name Carnegie an anathema to those involved in the labor movement. Moreover, workers' education was seen as purposeful; its goal was to result in the liberation of the working class, both collectively and individually. Workers' education was intimately conceited to the labor movement. Adult education, on the other hand, was seen as a vague movement whose scope seemed to include every effort to impart instruction from "the movies to radio contents and lectures, Americanization activities, the teaching of English to foreigners, the extension divisions of colleges and universities....".[11]

In some ways, this division between adult education and workers' education has never been bridged. In 1990, more than sixty years after the Muste and Calhoun comments, Gregory Mantosis, a leading labor educator wrote:" Defining worker education as an approach that is distinct from adult education...is key to developing successful joint endeavors [with universities]. Echoing the earlier writings, Mantosis goes on the note the differences between adult education and worker education lie in the identity workers education students have as workers and union members.[12]

However, it would be a mistake to view this division simply in terms labor education providing a class-based educational project in opposition to the more general diffuse and unfocused activities of adult education. The relationship between the two is much more complex and ambiguous. Despite Muste and Calhoun's reservations in 1927, the WEB did eventually accept (though not without disagreement) a grant from the AAAE and workers' educators did participate in the founding of the AAAE. In fact, some of the most important figures in workers education were active in the AAAE. Such leading figures in workers' education as Hilda Smith, Director of the Bryn Mawr Summer school and later head of the workers' education program under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was actively involved in the AAAE. Individuals such as Mark Starr, Education Director of the ILGWU, Eleanor Coit, Director of the American Labor Education Service, Spencer Miller, Jr. longtime Director of the Workers Education Bureau, J. F. Friedrich from the Milwaukee Workers' College and Alice Shoemaker Director of the School for Workers in Industry at the University of Wisconsin were active participants at AAAE meetings and even assumed leadership positions within AAAE (Smith, Starr and Coit all served on the Executive Board of the AAAE).[13] Moreover, the *Journal of Adult Education* regularly published significant articles on labor education on a more or less regular basis throughout the late 1950s. Since that time articles concerning labor education have been few, though there seems to be a recent attempt to reintroduce labor education and adult education.[14]

Moreover, as later developments would show, the WEB itself moved from a vision of labor education as a transformative force to a much more accommodative view more inline with the business trade union orientation of the AFL. Because of the AFL's long standing animosity towards a radical, independent labor education movement, the AFL gradually assumed control of the WEB, expelled some of the more radical labor colleges from the organization and forced its President, the socialist James H. Maurer to resign. Eventually the WEB would merge into the Education department of the AFL.[15]

Events after the second World War also demonstrated the complexities of labor education. In many ways the late 1940s represent the peak of influence of the labor movement and labor education. Labor union membership had grown five-fold since 1933. Unions, feeling their power, believed that everything was open for negotiations, including the right to

manage. The end result would be, so the unions hoped, joint management and union control of the shopfloor. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) advocated a policy that would make government coequal with management with the government acting as an arbitrator. Unions demanded (and succeed in getting in some industries) the right to become involved in discipline, bonus charges, job assignments, and involvement in training and education programs. Unions wanted involvement in financial policy, wage determination policies and other production issues as well. Unions, in short sought to co-manage the enterprise.[16]

It was under these circumstances that labor sought to create National Labor Extension Service based on the agricultural extension model. Lead my such distinguished labor educators as Hilda Smith, legislation enacting the service was introduced and had received significant bipartisan support by 1947. The University of Michigan program on which much of the Labor Education Service was based was heavily influenced by adult education. Indeed as one commentator has noted "Its theoretical basis lay in findings from adult education regarding the cooperative building of an adult program..."[17] Interestingly, the one of the major concerns of those endorsing the Labor Extension Service was the fear that the service would function as part of the adult education within the Office of Education rather than in the Department of Labor. Indeed one of the strongest opponents of the Labor Extension Service was the National University Extension Association who felt threatened by labor's inroads into extension services. Despite this opposition, supporters where confident of passage until an economist representing General Motors testified that the University of Michigan's program for workers' education was subversive. This testimony was a major blow to the bill and the lend to its ultimate defeat. Recent investigations by Richard Dwyer has brought out some startling evidence that the AFL, determined to keep labor education firmly under the wing of the trade union movement, indirectly worked against the creation of a Labor Extension Service.[18]

While the defeat of the Labor Extension Service was a blow to labor education, the unions continued to grow and prosper along with the American economy well into the 1960s, though at the expense of labors development as a social movement. Along with labor, labor education grew greatly within the university. The creation of the University and College Labor Education Association gave labor educators a forum for their work. However, over the last few decades, labor union density has declined from a high point of more than 40% of the workforce in the 1950s to about 16% by the early 1990s. Labor education in the university also began to decline to the extent that there is concern that labor education would disappear from the university. Thus university based labor education and university based adult education, indirectly intertwined since the founding of the AAAE, are both in crisis. Interesting too is that while labor educators are concerned that labor education will, if it survives at all, become a sidebar to industrial relations, some adult educators are concerned that adult education will be subsumed within the corporate world of HRD. It is precisely those concerns that suggest possibilities for cooperation between labor education and progressive adult educators[19]

Reestablishing The Link

It is around the issue of learning and work that an alliance between labor educators and adult educators can be forged. It has been clear for some time that newer management concepts such as empowerment, TQM, and quality circles are the latest and most sophisticated attempts at worker control. What is new about these approaches is the importance of learning within these systems. The rise of human resource development and more recently the development of the concept of organizational learning (a concept rapidly replacing the older HRD perspective in training and development literature) is intimately interconnected with the new forms of management. Labor educators have begun to seriously critique the newer forms of organizing work and have begun to develop strategies to assist workers in combating this new management onslaught. However, labor educators have not addressed how learning is interwoven within these systems. For many labor educators learning is still seen as something which occurs inside the classroom. Progressive adult educators can work with labor educators in investigating the roll of learning in these new management systems. Moreover, by the nature of their field, labor educators have strong linkages to unions and workers, while some adult educators have strong linkages to

community groups not normally thought of as workers in the labor education sense. It is crucial that linkages between these groups be established.

How do we begin establishing these linkages within the context of our day-to-day lives? As has been suggested, links between the two fields have always existed, though somewhat tenuously. Some labor educators (Joyce Kornbluh comes to mind) have advanced degrees in adult education and have a history of involvement with the field. Many labor educators until recently participated in the national conferences of the AAACE and its predecessors. Given the corporate turn of the AAACE, it is unrealistic that labor educators will again return to the conference. It is therefore incumbent upon adult educators to actively seek out those labor educators who have removed themselves from adult education because they see corporate versions of adult education as synonymous with all of adult education. Moreover, some graduate programs in adult education programs (such as Rutgers University) have doctoral students who are interconnected with the labor studies programs at their university. These individuals can serve as links between the two fields. One possibility already under discussion is the creation of an adult education interest group within the UCLEA as a way to facilitate interaction. The possibilities of establishing newsletter for those who see themselves as crossing between the two fields has also been discussed. Another way is for American adult educators to begin to interact with their colleagues in labor education is through those international scholars who are involved in labor education in other countries and participate in the AERC and conferences such as this. These international labor/adult educators can serve as bridge between the two groups.

Finally, as has been pointed out over and over again, academics must go outside of the university and begin to establish working relations with community groups. One example of this is a project I am presently involved with. Under the auspices of a recently organized community-based independent labor center in central Pennsylvania, unemployed workers, center staff and academic labor and adult educators have established a program in which workers will interpret their own lives from a labor movement point of view in a deindustrial heritage environment which has largely silenced the voices of working people. While all these steps are tentative, they do suggest cooperation is possible.

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[1]There has been some debate over the appropriate use of the term labor education. As discussed here, the choice of terms is significant to how one conceptualizes the field. In this paper labor education is used for convenience and refers to workers' education and labor studies.

[2]Some recent examples are John Holford who has published in *Labor Studies Journal* and *Adult Education Quarterly* and John McIlroy and Bruce Spencer who have published in *Studies in the Education of Adults* and as well as *Labor Studies Journal*.

[3]Greg Burns, Gene Daniels and Tony DeAngelis, "Providing Union Leadership Education: For A Change," *Labor Studies Journal 11* (Winter 1987): 238-257; Higden C. Roberts, Jr and Ralph Arthur Johnson, "Candidates, Jobs and Staffing Needs in Labor Education: The Desert Revisited," *Labor Studies Journal 7* (Spring 1982): 30-39.

[4]See, for example, the following: James Green, "Making Access to Higher Education Meaningful to Unionized Workers: A Case Report," *Labor Studies Journal 17* (Summer 1992); Michael D. Parsons, Labor Studies in Decline," *Labor Studies Journal 15* (Spring 1992): 66-81; Brooke Broadbent, "Identifying the Education Needs of Union Stewartds," *Labor Studies Journal 14* (Summer 1989): 46-60; Mil Lieberthal, "On the Academization of Labor Education," *Labor Studies Journal 1* (Winter 1977): 235-245; John R. MacKenzie, "The Role of the University and College Labor Education Association in Promoting Orderly Expansion of University Labor Education," *Labor Studies Journal 1* (May 1976): 27-34; Lois S Gray, "Labor Studies Credit and Degree Programs: A Growth Sector of Higher Education," *Labor Studies Journal 1* (May 1976): 34-51; Elana Michelson, "Labor Studies and the Assessment of Experiential Learning," *Labor Studies Journal 10* (Fall 1985): 139-152; Paul F. Clark and Lois S. Gray, "Broadening the Mission: Research Activity among University Labor Education/Labor Studies Professionals,' *Labor Studies 15* (Summer 1990): 5-19; Ronald Aronson and Charles Rooney, "Teaching Them What They Already Know: College

Education and Working Class Adults," *Labor Studies Journal 3* (Spring 1978): 19-31; Al Nash, "Labor Education, Labor Studies and the Knowledge Factor," *Labor Studies Journal 3* (Spring 1978): 5-18; Lois S Gray and Joyce L. Kornbluh, "New Directions in Labor Education," *Labor Law Journal 42* (August 1991): 569-575; Al Nash, "The University Labor Educator: A Marginal Occupation," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review 32* (October 1978).

[5]Parsons has argued that in order to survive, labor studies programs need to mirror traditional academic disciplines. See Parsons, "Labor Studies in Decline," 66-81.

[6]Directory of Member Institutions and Professional Staff 1983 (New York: UCLEA); Lois S. Gray, "Labor Credit and Degree Programs: A Growth Sector of Higher Education," *Labor Studies Journal 1* (May 1976): 34-56.

[7]Richard Dwyer, *Labor Education in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography* (Meutchen and London: Metuchen and London: Scarecrow Press, 1977); Brian Towers, "Labor Education in Depression: A British Perspective," *Labor Studies Journal 12* (Spring 1987): 8-11; John McIlroy and Bruce Spencer, "Making Waves in British Workers' Education," *Convergence 22* 2/3(1989).

[8]Fred M. Schied, *Learning in Social Context: Workers and Adult Education in Nineteenth Century Chicago* (DeKalb, IL: LEPS Press, 1993): 158-159.

[9]Mil Lieberrthal, "On the Academization of Labor Education," *Labor Studies Journal 2* (Winter 1977): 235-245.

[10]James H. Maurer, "Report of the Executive Committee, Proceedings of the Third National Convention of Workers' Education in the United States, 1923," in *Workers' Education Yearbook, 1924* (New York Workers' Education Bureau, 1924); quotation in Louis Levine, *The Women's Garment Workers Union* (New York: B.W. Heubsch, 1924), 483.

[11]Jonathan D. Bloom, "Workers' Education and Adult Education," in *Breaking New Ground: Workers Education and Adult Education,* ed. Rae Wahl Rohfeld (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Kellogg Project), 207-213.

[12]Gregory Manstsios, " Worker Education: Developing an Approach to Worker Empowerment," in *The Re-Education of the American Working Class*, ed. Steven H. London, Elvira R. Tarr, Joseph F. Wilson (New York, Greenwood Press, 1990), 38-39.

[13]*American Association for Adult Education Annual Meeting Programs, 1927-1947.* Box 6, Adult and Continuing Education Research Collection, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY.

[14]See for example, Jeff Zacharakis-Jutz and Fred M. Schied "Essay Review: Workers' Education, Social Reconstruction, and Adult Education, " *Adult Education Quarterly 43* (Winter 1993): 101-110. Another indication that there may be reemerging interest in labor education among at least some adult educators is that the 1993 Cyril O. Houle Award for literature in adult education, an award presented annually by the American Association for Adult Education, went to Michael Newman's *The Third Contract: Theory and Practice in Trade Union Training* (Sydney, Stewart Victor Publishing), though this demonstrated once again that it was adult educators outside the American context who see a connection between labor and adult education. Considerably less successful, though more reflective of the relationship between the two fields, was the 1989 Kellogg Project's conference on the History of Adult Education. Though the conference brought together adult education and labor education historians and published proceedings, *Breaking New Ground: The Development of Adult and Workers' Education in North America,* (Syracuse University, Syracuse University Kellogg Project, 1989), little cooperation emerged from that conference.

[15]Fred M. Schied, " From Workers to Trade Unionists: Transformation and Instrumentalism in Workers and Adult Education after the First World War," *Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Adult Education Research Conference* (Knoxville, University of Tennessee, 1994): 318-323. Clyde W. Barrow, "Counter-Movement within the Labor Movement: Workers' Education and the American Federation of Labor, 1900-1937," *The Social Science Journal 27* (Winter 199): 406-410.

[16]See David Brody, *Workers in Twentieth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); idem., *In Labor's Cause* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993): Daniel Nelson, Workers *and Managers* (Madison, WI,

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1975); Sanford Jacoby, *Employing Bureaucracy: Managers, Workers, and the Transformation of Work in American Industry, 1900 -1945* (New York, 1985);

[17]Linten and Elkiss, *The Labor Education Controversy,"* 201.

[18]Thomas E. Linton and Helen Elkiss, "The Labor Education Controversy in Michigan as National Influence: Lessons Learned en Route to Maturity," *Labor Studies Journal 6* (Fall 1981): 198-212. Robert A. Bowman and Roger M.Swanson, "The National Committee for the Extension of Labor Education: An Historical Chronology," *Labor Studies Journal* 6 (Fall 1981): 180-187; Richard Dwyer, " Organized Labor and the Control of Adult Education for Workers: The Ignored Lessons of the Campaign for a National Labor Extension Service," *Labor History 33* (Winter 1992).

[19]See especially Phyllis Cunningham, "The Politics of Worker's Education: Preparing Workers to Sleep with the Enemy," *Adult Learning 5* (September-October 1993).

INVESTIGATION BY EVENTALISATION: A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF FORCES INFLUENCING THE FORMATION OF ADULT EDUCATION PRACTICES IN PRISON

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Educators strive to have purpose and to see purposefulness in what they do. It is commonplace to hear educators claim that education makes a difference; indeed the sociology of education was thunderstruck when Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Willis (1977), for example, argued that it did not make a difference; that it reproduced rather than changed social relations. What this and subsequent criticism did was not to dismiss the central role of intended and unintended consequences in defining educational forms. It replaced one conception of what those defining consequences were (e.g., meritocracy) with another (reproduction). The presumption that purpose and purposeful striving to meet specific needs and larger functional imperatives of society continued to be construed as the defining force of educational forms.

Growing out of these earlier critiques, adult educators have criticised the naivety of an overtly functionalist interpretation of their practices (e.g., the technicism which continues to dominate the field of program development). In Griffin (1983), for example, program planners are criticized for describing what they do as merely meeting needs. Griffin and others have made it quite clear that adult education is a normative practice, highly charged by complex processes governing the nature of power relations in capitalist social relations (e.g. Street, 1984; Jarvis, 1985; Collins, 1991; Cervero and Wilson 1994). This critique has and continues to have a profound influence on reflexive research and understandings in adult education. Nonetheless, even here the teleological perspective continues as the dominant conceptual framework in which much research is conducted. The critique has not challenged the perspective as much as it has unmasked the political relations governing that purposeful/needs-meeting activity: which purposes do we serve, in whose interest, and how do we represent this activity?

While this critique is most productive, its practical significance seems limited. At best, it has made adult educators more conscious of how needs are defined and the processes by which needs and purposefulness are reified as causal forces determining educational forms. Therefore, it is necessary to conceptualize the problem somewhat differently. Following Nietzsche, we might say that the "criterion of purpose [whatever that purpose may be] is **the last** that should ever be applied to a study of [education and] legal education" ([my emphasis] 1956, p. 209) in order to determine its form. Notice that the argument is not to dismiss the influence of purpose but to question its relative significance.

I want to relate this to practice, since our concern is educating adult educators. As researchers we put purpose first when we appeal to results of either qualitative or quantitative research in order to influence policy making. The very act of producing evaluative research to "save" programs says that we believe that demonstrating intended and unintended consequences is an essential, if not the only condition that influences educational forms. When research findings prove to be inconsequential in affecting policy formation, we take the next logical step and argue that the organizational forms in which policy making takes place are dysfunctional, obsolete, subject to political expediencies, or hostile to certain research methods or results (e.g. Selman and Dampier, 1991, pp. 155-173). I cannot expand on it here, but this argument assumes that in principle the state is capable of being a rational-legal enterprise: that the state's degree of relative autonomy from its capitalist foundation can make it an instrument of social democracy as well as a form of domination. What I will explore here, is a historical critique of evaluative practice and its assumptions: the belief that educational form is determined by purpose and purposeful striving toward goals.

Nowwhere are teleological perspectives more prevalent than in the discourse of prison education. Stephen Duguid, editor of the *Yearbook of Correctional Education* and a prolific contributor to the discourse on prison education argued that

> it is undeniably the case that a major factor in [the] demise [of prison higher education in Canadian federal prisons in 1993] was the failure of the Simon Fraser Program to carry forward a sophisticated research agenda following on from its innovative and exciting 1980 follow-up study. While other intervention in the Canadian [prison] system—such as cognitive living skills and even adult basic education—were the subject of research initiatives funded from within Correctional Service, no attempt was made to look at post-secondary program effectiveness (Duguid, 1993, p. 4; also see Steurer, April/May 1994, p. 4).

Given the extensive research published since 1980 on the effects of prison higher education on recidivism—all of it done to defend prison education as an effective means to reduce recidivism (e.g., Lockwood, 1991; Clark, 1991)—Duguid's argument lacks credibility. What matters, however, is not credibility but that Duguid should appeal to a measure of effectiveness as a defining influence on the demise of prison higher education.

In this paper I argue against placing purposes first among the forces that determine the formation of adult prison education. In other words, I argue that educators should discount Duguid's suggestion that we "move quickly to gather more evidence" showing that "education programs 'work'". We should avoid reproducing the myth that intentions are so consequential for the determination of educational form. By extension, I argue that we should refuse to participate in producing evaluative research in order to "save" programs because we merely reproduce false consciousness.

In opposition to reproducing teleological perspectives, Michel Foucault offered a method of research that examines the genealogy of social forms through the manifestations of power relations and resistance rooted in the historicity of particular social productive relations. In his work on the determinants of practices, Foucault seeks to lighten the emphasis on purpose and causation in order to grasp "the conditions which make these [practices] acceptable at a given moment" (1981, p. 5). His interest has been to show how a "particular way of doing things...was capable of being accepted at a certain moment as a principal component of the penal system, thus coming to seem altogether natural, self-evident and indispensable" (p. 5). He calls his method for showing this eventalisation (p. 6).

> [E]ventalisation...works by constructing around the singular event analysed as a process a 'polygon' or rather a 'polyhedron' of intelligibility, the number of whose faces is not given in advance and can never be taken as finite. One has to proceed by progressive, necessarily incomplete saturation. And one has to bear in mind that the further one decomposes the processes under analysis, the more one is enabled and indeed obliged to construct external relations of intelligibility (pp. 6-7).

Eventalisation aims to make transparent through successive investigations how singular events are formed by/within the social construction of intelligibilities at a particular historical moment. Purposefulness is realized through the encounter of the purposeful activities of individuals and collectives with social structures. The encounter with structural relations makes a purpose seem intelligible, acceptable, self-evident, if not indispensable. Other purposes are constituted as marginal, radical, absurd, heretical, deviant, punishable through the encounter with structural relations. Thus we should not attend to purpose first but to the encounter of purposefulness with the forces that condition its intelligibility.

The event I have chosen to examine is the encounter between the work of Thomas Mott Osborne, founder of the Mutual Welfare Leagues in New York, and the social construction of capitalist productive relations in New York State during the early 1900s. David Rothman described Osborne's Leagues as the only "serious threat" to conventional practices of imprisonment to emerge during the Progressive Era (1980, p. 145). Between 1895 and 1923 Osborne and his associates established various forms of self-government throughout state and country prisons in the northeastern United States. The Leagues at Auburn and Sing Sing state prisons were the most notable examples. Their purpose was to teach

prisoners to be "good citizens." As we can see in this characteristic reference to Osborne appearing in *The Journal of Correctional Education*, this reformer's work has had a profound influence on prison education throughout this century:

> The correctional Education/Prison Reform Movement is illuminated by his [Osbornes] vision; in turn, that Movement helps keep [his] vision alive. Osborne touches a nerve in the hearts of those who learn about his work" (Muth and Gehring, 1986, p. 5).

Counterpoised to its conventional representation in the discourse of prison education, I shall describe how little the reformers' successes mattered compared to the influence of the rapid development of corporate capitalism at the turn of the century. This development created a multiplicity of forces that made possible, then impossible, the Mutual Welfare Leagues.

The Event: Mutual Welfare Leagues (1913 to 1926)

One school of thought in prison education constructs criminal activity as indicative of a need for cognitive moral education (e.g., Duguid, 1992). Crudely put, good citizens obey the law because they make mature decisions when faced with circumstances that could lead to criminal activity. Prisoners, by contrast, are defined as immature reasoners: they fail to account for personal and social costs in their practical decision-making processes. To correct this cognitive deficiency prisoners are said to require "correctional education". Adherents to cognitive development pedagogy (e.g., Werner, 1990) trace the history of this perspective to the Mutual Welfare Leagues established by Thomas Mott Osborne. In 1919, Winthrop Lane, a central figure in the production of penal discourse during the early 1900s wrote:

> Self-government is simply an embodiment of the idea that if prisoners are to improve in the ways of normal living, if they are to be more self-reliant in dealing with other people, if they are to acquire the social habits of living in accordance with certain 'rules of the game,' and are to develop their own capacities to help make those rules, the time to begin is while they are undergoing punishment for their offenses."[1]

Prisoner self-government models varied considerably. In some cases they were merely recreational committees operated by prisoners. The Mutual Welfare Leagues, however, were miniature democracies. Constitutions were written. Prisoners were elected to legislative, executive, and judicial committees that had control over the daily affairs of the institutions. For example, the Mutual Welfare League established by Osborne at Sing Sing prison in 1914-1915 had a judicial board that exercised jurisdiction over disputes between guards and prisoners and over escapes and assaults. In 1915, the Leagues were acclaimed in the annual report of the prison Association of New York (PANY) as "the most conspicuous event in prison reform in any period in American history." In the same report PANY observed:

> Viewed from the outside, the League is an ingenious device for utilizing the good will and talents of inmates in the production of better discipline, better work, and better disposition in the prison. Viewed from the inside, as Mr. Osborne contemplates it, it is a means and a process of moral regeneration.

In the progressive media and in conference proceedings, reports attested to self-government's ability to reduce the use of drugs, improve prisoner production in the workshops, and reduce escapes, insanity, and violence. Under self-government "order maintains itself like the tides," wrote the editor of the socialist magazine *The Masses*. Theodore Roosevelt congratulated the self-government reformers for their capacity to "manufacture good citizens."

The reform was not without its opponents, For instance, in the opening remarks to its 1915 meeting, the president of the American Prison Association (APA) claimed that the belief in "many quarters that among prisoners...there is a high sense of honor and an ability for righteous self-government that have not heretofore been recognized" is a "dangerous enthusiasm" promoted by its "overzealous advocates." In 1915, when Osborne was warden at Sing Sing prison, he was indicted for criminal misconduct. The charges were later dismissed and he returned to Sing Sing, but continuous interference

by the state's superintendent of prisons is blamed for Osborne finally resigning as warden and the subsequent demise of the League (Muth and Gehring, 1986). I will return to this incident to describe it from a different perspective.

In 1917, a political ally of Osborne, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Osborne commander of the Portsmouth Naval prison. Osborne established a third League, duplicating the successes at Auburn and Sing Sing prisons earlier in the decade. However, after the war, he resigned his commission. The League was eliminated when the Naval prison was taken over by the Marines. In its 1917 report, PANY expressed "warm endorsement [for]...the principles of self-government" but noted that the reform was "not wholly successful." Instead, PANY showed greater interest in the indeterminate sentence and new forms of psychological treatment. Six years later Osborne wrote:

> The full history of the Mutual Welfare League is still to be written; but the experiences of the last ten years at Auburn and Sing Sing and the United States Naval Prison....are full of instruction for those who wish to learn. Unfortunately, the League no longer exists at Portsmouth, it has been crushed out of recognition at Auburn, and it is badly mutilated some years ago at Sing Sing" (Osborne, 1923, p. 372).

Several reasons have been offered to explain the demise of the Leagues (Davidson, 1991, pp. 60-107). The most prominent of these was provided first by Howard Gill, a warden with some experience with self-government who wrote, "I propose that punishment and rehabilitation be regarded as two distinct and separate processes, and we admit that this essential conflict...has frustrated effective action and weakened both our prisons and parole program" (1945, p. 20). David Rothman attributes the failure of reforms inaugurated during this period to an inescapable conflict between security and treatment (1980, p. 10). Scharf and Hickey argue that Osborne's work and their own efforts to employ participatory governance in prisons failed because "prison democracy, given the contemporary realities of the prison is a hopeless enterprise" (1977, p. 3). The "essential conflict" argument in its various formulations has enjoyed the greatest prominence both in the literature dealing directly with the demise of the Leagues and in the explanations for the troubles undermining other forms of prison education. Unfortunately, the significance of an "essential conflict" has yet to be examined in relationship to the relative importance of events taking place outside the prison, events which penetrated this "confined space" and influenced practices taking place within it. It is precisely to this influence that I now turn.

The Mutual Welfare Leagues: An Eventalisation

In order to pose the question of what happened to the Leagues—why did they (dis)appear?—in terms other than a teleological perspective, it is necessary to realise that prisoner self-government as a form of moral education was not restricted to the prison setting. It was part of a much larger project. In 1904, Richard Welling,, who organized the National Self-Government Committee to promote student self-government in the schools, wanted to apply the method "not only in the schools but in factories, labour organizations and prisons to establish the great democratic principles of cooperation and sharing authority as opposed to autocracy and the atmosphere of conflict." In 1912, Osborne wrote:

> we have only begun to develop the possibilities for Democracy; it remains [for us] to educate citizens by applying the democratic Principles to our school system...[to our] our factories and solve the labour problem; to apply the Democratic Principles to our prisons and reform our ignorant brethren who have failed to adapt themselves to society.

Nowhere in the literature referencing Osborne's work is self-government mentioned as one aspect of a larger self-government movement that appeared in schools, factories, and in prisons. Attending to this wider self-government movement is crucial for an appreciation of how the expansion of capitalist production provided the foundation for the processes by which this practice became acceptable at a particular historical moment.

While the Leagues struggled to survive at Auburn and Sing Sing in 1917, the National Self-Government Committee had 5,000 members. Courses in self-government were being taught at New York University,

and applicants for a school principal license in New York City had to answer test questions on applying self-government principles. In 1919, the National Conference Board counted 225 industrial self-government schemes. By 1924, 1.1l million workers in 814 plants participated in such plans.

A normal school superintendent, considered student self-government the "best answer [to the] Bolshevik....[Self-government was] a militant force for the protection and conservation of the integrity of the school." Through self-government, future teachers of America would learn to be "on the side of the law, order, and social uplift thereby offsetting the influence and propaganda of the bad and lawless student." In 1919 Glenn Frank editor of *Century Magazine*, warned that if capitalists failed to replace autocratic forms o. management with self-government, American industry would be threatened by "Bolshevik tendencies." Frank argued that "the old autocratic methods of control" had to give way to "constructive liberalism", put forth by "forward looking business men and certain creative thinkers in the field of politics and economic theory."

The "Bolshevik tendencies" and autocratic methods of management were attributed to the "foreign ideas" brought into the United States by the millions of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, who were imported as cheap labour for an unparalleled and largely unregulated growth of industrial capitalism in the late 1800s and early 1900s (Kolko, 1976).

New York State was at the centre of this growth. In 1910, it led the country in the value of manufactured goods and the number of proletariat among its population. In 1890 its population was six million. By 1920 it had doubled. Most of this increase was the result of immigration. By 1910, about 80% of the common labourers employed by the steel plants in the northeastern states were from southern and eastern Europe. Most earned $12 a week when a family needed $15 for subsistence. By 1910 the classrooms in New York State's public schools were overcrowded and presented a serious health problem. But for Buffalo's superintendent of schools, the greatest concern was that no classroom would "harbour little anarchists of the future." An adult educator in Rochester, New York, believed schools to be the "natural instrument of the State" for "making good Americans from the raw material that is coming into the country from abroad."

Impoverished immigrants commit the crimes that the State punishes with imprisonment. In 1907 the state prison population of New York was 3,300; by 1915, with 15% of New York City's workers unemployed, it reached 5,200 without any prison construction to relieve the overcrowding. About 30% of these people were foreign born. Prison conditions grew increasingly miserable. The Prison Association damned the overcrowding, inadequate ventilation, vermin, and the epidemics of typhoid and tuberculosis. One observer spoke of the "excessive" use of solitary confinement and corporal punishment to control the "fear of prisoners *en masse*" (Klein, 1920, p. 200).

The fear was aggravated by legislated bans on the use of prison labour for the production of consumer goods. Corporate capitalists and organized trade unions influenced the state legislatures in the industrialized North to prohibit prison labour from competing with wage labour. In the southern states, where the contract lease system supplied (and murdered) thousands of black prisoners forced to perform work that whites would not, prison reform was non-existent (Adamson, 1982). In the North, protest from wardens and small capitalists with an interest in exploiting prison labour was fierce but ineffectual. Thus, wardens were denied the use of prison labour as a form of control at a time when the prison population was escalating, as was the fear that "Bolshevik tendencies" were prominent among foreign born prisoners.

The fear was real and not restricted to the prisons. Radical prisoners were able to organize strikes and to teach socialism in prisoner-run schools (e.g., Legere, 1914). They encouraged prisoners to consider new social forms and "radical needs" that only a social revolution could realize. Weinstein notes that the radical press reached its high point in circulation in 1912, with 262 English, and 36 foreign language dailies (1960, p. 10). These newspapers ran regular articles on prisons as instruments of capitalist oppression and on the importance of keeping political prisoners in touch with comrades on the outside (e.g., "Our Prisoners", 1919). Socialist parties won 1200 municipal elections in 1912, six percent of the popular vote for president, and seats in state legislatures (Weinstein, 1960, p. 18). The "Rising Tide of Socialism" in the context of the

Russian Revolution seven years later, the power of the IWW, and the ability of the socialist movement to include prisoners in their struggles, gave capitalists good reason to fear "prisoners *en masse*".

In the prisons, most wardens responded to the overcrowding and the ban on prison labour with the use of "iron discipline" and military drills to reduce "idleness and moral decay." In the factories and mines the "old autocratic methods" included the use of armed guards over workers, the deportation of radicals, and the use of Pinkerton Gangs to control strikes (e.g., the Ludlow Massacre of April 1914). The Progressives (Theodore Roosevelt, Osborne, and the president of Harvard University, Charles Eliot, among them) feared that the autocratic mentality of 19th Century industrialists, educators, and prison wardens would encourage workers, students, and prisoners to become radicals and to adopt the idea of a "sharp and unnatural division of society into a few owners of land and machinery on the one hand, and many wages earners on the other," as Eliot wrote. They promoted self-government as an alternative to socialism and to autocracy ("two despotisms"). In order to avoid these "two despotisms", a self-government movement struggled to eliminate criminal activity, "bad and lawless" students, and "labour unrest" through self-government education.

The self-government movement's failure to persist as a lasting form of social control could not have been prevented by demonstrating its effectiveness, nor would it have helped to eliminate the dysfunctional organizational systems that impeded rational decision-making. Its decline was conditioned by structural transformations that had produced the fears to which Osborne and his associates responded.

Clearly, prisoner self-government provided an alternative means of control; indeed under this system a prisoners' court instead of a warden enforced "prisoners' rules". It is no surprise that "order maintain[ed] itself like the tides." However, there were contradictions. In the factories, schools, and prisons where it was tried, democratization affected the political relationships among the governed. In the prisons of New York, self-government shifted power relations in favour of the "low brows" (in the argot of the period). The "high brows", convicted politicians and white collar prisoners, enjoyed the favour of wardens under conventional forms of control, but they were few in number and could not control the League's legislative and judicial bodies. When the high brows lost their special privileges, they became ready allies of outside political groups that had an interest in discrediting Osborne. In fact, it was the high brows who arranged for Osborne to be charged with criminal misconduct and almost to lose his position as warden at Sing Sing. Moreover, the wardens who replaced Osborne at Auburn and Sing Sing proved to be less than sympathetic to the low brows and set about disenfranchising them and reestablishing the power of the high brows.

Just how consequential prisoner political relationships were in finally dislodging the Mutual Welfare Leagues is difficult to determine because in 1917 the United States entered World War One and the state prisons emptied. The prison population in the winter of 1915 was over 5900. In early 1918 it was less than 3500. With this dramatic reduction in the population, prison conditions eased. In the prisons, schools, and factories, socialist influence declined as the radical parties and the IWW split over the question of the war (Weinstein, 1960). The war economy created jobs, and the state under Roosevelt and Wilson gained enough relative autonomy that it could force concessions from capitalist by diverting labour power from capital accumulation to the production of consumer goods and services, thus improving (albeit marginally) the worker's standard of living.

Concluding Note

The structural forces discussed here portray a fragment of the productive processes by which a need for cheap labour and the concomitant need to Americanize this labour made possible the intelligibility of a need for self-government as a pedagogy for moral education. A more complete eventalisation would uncover more of the "complex interconnections with a multiplicity of historical processes" (Foucault, 1981, p. 5) that conditions the formation of the Leagues. For example, elsewhere I have examined how roadwork and prisoner self-government were paired as an effective means of control when prisoners left the prisons to live in road camps while they built thousands of miles of road prior to 1917. There is also a complex relationship between party politics of New York and the histories of the Leagues. In a

brief paper it is not possible to explore each of these relationships in any depth. Nonetheless, in contrast to the functionalist/teleological perspectives which places the capacity of a practice to affect purposes first, and decries impediments to purposive rational action created by dysfunctional organizational forms and political expediency, the material presented here comes closer to revealing what Barry Smart, after Foucault, describes as "the several connections, play of forces, and multiple processes which establish the self-evident intelligibility of events" (1983, p. 77): in this case, the intelligibility of prisoner self-government.

If there is a message here for a conference on educating the adult educator, it is that we should not confuse our desire to make a difference with a belief that the ability of education to satisfy the functional imperatives of a society determines the course of its structural differentiation. The acceptability of educational practices—whether we are speaking of Osborne's Leagues, prison high education, or mandatory literacy education (the present panacea for the criminal mind)—are not determined by the capacity to demonstrate effectiveness, nor the absence of sufficient structural differentiations. Conditions which influence the transformation of educational practices are intimately connected to precisely the same complex of social productive forces which condition every aspect of social existence. The results of this study would suggest that educators of adult educators must teach that partial reforms of one institution is an illusion because no institution exists outside the influence of its complex play of interrelated supports. If we wish to understand the processes by which purposes become intelligible vs. absurd, misplaced, or radical (in prisons or not), we should not squander our limited research efforts on producing evaluative research. Instead, we should focus on how the present acceptability is being shaped by the play of forces in the wider historical context.

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[1]Data and quoted materials for the self-government movement is cited in H.S. Davidson (1991). *Moral education and social relations: Prisoner Self-government in New York, 1895-1923*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto.

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PROSTITUTES AS ADULT EDUCATORS: EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES IN THE NEW ZEALAND SEX INDUSTRY

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Abstract

Peer education, mentoring and apprenticeship are generally regarded as effective adult education methodologies by university teachers and researchers. Some community groups, however, find connections to universities unnecessary. The methodologies of educating adults are discussed in relation to the sex-industry in New Zealand. Specifically, the safe-sex peer education programme of the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective, the mentoring processes used by some madams and the apprenticeship of a Bondage and Discipline mistress are presented as examples of successful adult education practices. The paper is based on a series of interviews and extensive field research. It concludes that both the academy and the sex-industry could benefit by learning from each other.

Introduction

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of my initial field research with prostitutes in New Zealand is learning that their educational programmes are alive, well and thriving, even though the practitioners are not formally trained adult educators. My findings, at this early stage, indicate there is a link between theories of educating adults and sex-industry practices. In the last eight months (August 1994-April 1995) I have informally interviewed approximately 130 women prostitutes (and done open-ended question, indepth taped interviews with about 15), 10-15 gay men, and 10-15 transgenders. I have also had numerous discussions with other people in the sex-industry, including those who work with the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective, owners of massage parlours and escort agencies, receptionists, drivers, clients and spouses and children of prostitutes. The sex-work venues I have visited in my research travels are located in one major city, the capital city, two provincial cities and two coastal cities. As I spend social as well as research time with sex-industry people, I cannot even begin to calculate how many hours I have spent with them.

The purpose of this paper is to educate adult educators about the significant (and generally unacknowledged) contribution prostitutes make to the field of informal adult education. It argues that sex-workers' educational contribution warrants recognition by the public, in general, and by adult educators, in particular. As a woman myself, I identify with the working-girls in the sex-industry, possibly because for me (as for all women, I suspect, whether or not we consciously acknowledge it) prostitution is an option. I find it very comfortable to be a researcher in sex-work venues, perhaps because I don't mind people assuming I am a hooker. In fact, I take it as an affirmation of my research skills when working-girls think I am one of them and clients inquire when I rostered on (Hanson, 1995c & interviews). Submitting a peep show receipt (which the University of Waikato paid) and adding 'Member-Sisterhood of Ship-Molls' to my academic C.V., for example, may be pushing it a bit too far according to some. I, however, think the boundaries of our research (both personal and institutional) have to be tested as part of the field work experience (Hanson 1994a). At this time, people in the sex-industry comprise a major part of my social circle and my interaction with them involves birthday parties, weddings, dinners, pubbing and weekend visits (Hanson 1994d & 1995d). In short, I spend more time in the parlour, at the agency and on the ship than I do in the faculty club. There are, however, limitations to my research relationship with the sex-industry. As I identify primarily with heterosexual women prostitutes, I leave exploring the educational contribution of gay men, lesbians, heterosexual males, transvestites and transgenders to other researchers. All names in this paper, of course, have

been changed (neither real nor working) to protect the anonymity of the prostitutes and madams who have given so generously of their life histories, sex-industry information and time.

For variety, I use the term prostitute interchangeably with sex-worker, escort, working-girl and hooker. For the purposes of this paper, I accept the definition of 'prostitute' as put forward by Perkins & Bennett (1985):

> To be a prostitute, one has to treat the exchange of sexual gratification for an established fee as a business deal, that is, without any pretence to affection, and continue to do this as a form of financial occupation, whether casual, part-time or full-time. In other words, it must be clearly demonstrated that there is a buyer and a seller, a commodity offered and a contracted price" (p. 4).

Prostitution is not, technically, a crime in New Zealand. Jan Jordan (1991) summarizes the situation when she writes:

> However our current laws prohibit soliciting, brothel-keeping, pimping, and living off the earnings of money obtained through prostitution. They also provide for the close regulation and monitoring of massage parlour workers. In effect, it is virtually impossible to work as a prostitute and stay within the law (p. 10).

Thus, as an industry which is viewed as marginal, in terms of the law, sex-workers are often on their guard against being arrested, and this may hinder formal educational planning, especially by educators outside the sex-industry.

For the most part, people in the sex-industry are not familiar with theories of adult education (Hanson, interviews). Yet, in practice, peer education, mentoring and apprenticeship are being practiced by them. Moving between the university and sex-work venues, which includes the street, the parlour, the agency and the ship, is, indeed, going from the world of theory to the world of practice and back again.

Interestingly enough, studies which recognize prostitutes as adult educators are found not in the field of adult education, but, rather in the areas of criminology, sociology and women's studies (Heyl, 1979; Jordan, 1991; McLeod, 1982; Millet, 1971; Perkins, 1991). Perhaps the reason that adult educators are not familiar with the practices of the sex-industry is due, at least in part, to the fact that "Few researchers have been able to study [the working side of prostitution] thoroughly because of the sex industry's closed ranks against outsiders" (Perkins, 1991, 231). Prostitutes' organizations, such as the New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective, Prostitutes' Collective of Victoria (Australia), Maggies (Canada) and Coyote (United States), however, openly regard many of their members as adult educators. Hopefully, the general public will become aware of the educational contribution of sex-workers through the work these organizations are undertaking (Hanson, interviews; Healy & Reed, 1994).

Due to space imitations this paper focuses on the educational programmes currently underway in the sex-industry in New Zealand. Although these examples are discussed briefly, copies of papers written about people in the New Zealand sex-industry for people in the sex-industry are available upon request (see bibliography).

Peer Education

The New Zealand Prostitutes' Collective (NZPC), was founded in 1987 and partially funded by the Department of Health. One of its major assignments has been to developed a peer-education programme for workers in the sex-industry. The programme's three areas of concentration are safe sex, negotiating better working conditions and personal development. "The NZPC aims to further the welfare of workers in the sex industry and to generate an exchange of information among us for the good health of prostitutes and prevention on AIDS" (NZPC, 1989). According to *Siren* (1994), a NZPC publication, the best way to achieve these goals is through education, since "Peer pressure is the greatest education package in the world, cheap, effective and encompassing a majority" (p. 14). Another aspect of the programme is to educate the public to regard the sex-industry for what it is: A service. Indeed, the NZPC approach is consistent with Michael Collins' (1991) 'Friends educating friends' methodology which he describes as ". . . a dialectical process where the teacher is also a learner and the learner, in learning, teaches the teacher" (p. 48).

The mandate of the Prostitutes' Collective is to assist **all sex-workers** including those who work in the massage parlours, on the street, in the escort agencies or on the ships. In order to make their education available to all, the NZPC video, *Sold on safe sex*, was made in conjunction with their peer-education programme. Although it was a low-budget ($7,000NZ) production filmed in three days, it attempted to include the various groups of workers in the sex-industry and addressed the major problems with which peers might need education.

One worker summed up the effectiveness of peer-education in the sex industry when she said, ". . . [I] remain grateful to [sex-workers] around me, then and now, for the education I received, which is like no other on earth-and after ten years worthy of a master's degree" (*Siren 10*, 1994, p. 27). The effect of the condom and water-based lubricant component of the safe-sex part of the peer education programme, for instance, is evident in many of the sex-work venues I have visited (Hanson, interviews). Then again, their 'ugly mugs' file helps working-girls avoid the 'nutters', while the confidential and anonymous peer-counselling helps prostitutes cope with the professional and personal sides of their lives (*Siren*, 1994).

Mentoring Processes of Madams

Madams, as massage parlour and escort agency owners have a vested interest in mentoring the prostitutes who work in their establishments (Hanson, interviews). Madams fall into two categories—those who are former working-girls, and those who have never worked as prostitutes themselves. While some feel that the former are more empathetic than the latter, the general feeling in the sex-industry is that women, as owners and managers, are preferable to men. As Perkins (1991) notes: "Most workers, though, express a preference for a female boss, regardless of how tyrannical she might be, because female bosses are more likely to have a greater concern for health and safety in the workplace" (p. 241).

Prostitutes, like first-year teachers for example, often need help to learn their new jobs. The madam plays a coordinating role in that process:

> ". . . Ann warns the [new prostitutes] to ask about such rules [kissing, perfume, oral & anal sex] when they start in a new establishment. The woman who break the work norms in a house, either knowingly or unknowingly, will draw the anger of the other women and can be fired by a madam eager to restore peace and order in the house" (Heyl, 1979, p. 123).

One agency owner told me that her idea of the perfect working-girl is one who comes to her with a goal. Adults with a focus, like university and polytechnical school students, for instance, who want to get through their courses and on with the rest of their lives are generally successful prostitutes (Hanson, interview). This particular owner takes pride in counselling a sex-worker when she comes into the business. She helps the new prostitute to achieve her goal (be it a degree or a car), sees her get out of the game after she has achieved what she set out to accomplish and, then, has her come back to visit.

The following example further demonstrates the mentoring process. Susan, another madam, knew Andrea, one of the working-girls in her establishment, had a drug problem. Susan phoned around the city to inquire about drug addiction programmes and told Andrea she would support her through the process. She also withheld part of Andrea's earnings (at her request) so that her money would not be spent on drugs. Yet another example of mentoring was highlighted when I approached Vanessa about using part of the interview I did with her for this paper. She replied,

> Mentoring? Oh, you mean all the mothering I give the girls. Well, I can't help it, that's just the way I am. And sometimes these girls get away with murder.

Vanessa then proceeded to give me more examples of how her mentoring style, including offering suggestions and proposing options and listening when escorts needed to talk through their problems. Vanessa also said that working-girls need on-the-job training to develop work related skills, such as learning how to dress properly and studying how to treat clients. Madams who have themselves been working-girls, Vanessa feels, are the most logical teachers because they have had an opportunity to put

their theory into practice. These ideas about mentoring are similar to those found in an American study (Heyl, 1979). Although the New Zealand madams I interviewed may not *call* it mentoring, they still use, essentially, the same processes as adult educators when they discuss supportive relationships between teachers and learners in a one-on-one situation.

While I am not about to suggest that *all* madams take an active interest in mentoring the sex-workers in their establishments, I have met many supportive women in the sex-industry. Perhaps mentoring is, partly at least, a result of close proximity of working in a parlour and the personal nature of services offered by the sex-industry.

Apprenticeship

An example of apprenticeship in the sex industry is bondage and discipline (B & D). Bondage & discipline is a lucrative speciality, as there is an increasing number of men seeking the service and, as a highly skilled profession, it commands a higher fee than a straight booking (Hanson, 1994b). As well as money, Bondage & Discipline offers a number of benefits to the practitioner. Perkins (1991) remarks that "Few other sex workers have the same amount of control over their working environment as the bondage mistresses" (p. 243). Becoming a good bondage and discipline mistress requires a combination of acting ability, knowledge, strength and control (Hanson, 1994b).

But how does one go about learning the necessary skills? Bondage & Discipline can be dangerous if not properly administered. (B & D, by the way, is not illegal in New Zealand as there is no sex involved.) A well-known case in New Zealand is that of Peter Plumley-Walker. He suffered a heart attack during a session and the B & D mistress—who was young and, it has been suggested, not fully trained—panicked. She and her accomplice threw his body, still clad in frilly stockings and garters, over the famous tourist spot, Huka Falls, on the Waikato River. The incident shocked many New Zealanders who professed to be unaware that B & D was practiced in their midst (Hanson, 1994b).

As B & D is not a formally offered course of studies, the sex-industry has developed its own informal apprenticeship programme. Mistress Ann, with whom I did a number of indepth interviews, outlined the process for me. She started by working with a Master. The Master Mistress Ann served her apprenticeship with was a man who has worked as a B & D specialist for a number of years and he was a recognized as an expert by people in the industry. After she served her apprenticeship, which lasted about a year, she continued to study on her own, learning from reading and from talking with clients. Clients, according to Mistress Ann, are an important source of knowledge. As each session is negotiated before hand, the Mistress has to learn to listen and interpret the client's request. Failure to do so would have meant lost income as he probably would not have returned. Having practiced B & D for a number of years, Mistress Ann now teaches others who want to learn the skills. In summary, Mistress Ann's career in B & D follows the regular pattern of apprenticeship-novice, practitioner, and then adult educator (Hanson, 1994b).

Other Adult Educator Roles in the Sex-Industry

In conjunction with the activities of peer-education, mentoring and apprenticeships, many prostitutes see themselves as teachers, counsellors and therapists. While formal adult educators may regard prostitutes as marginal educators, sex-workers do not view themselves in the same way. Rather, they perceive themselves as front-line adult teachers. It has been suggested that "Prostitute women usually see their occupation as an essential community service, as therapy to some men, counselling to others, and a safety valve for the frustrations and bottled-up energies of most" (Perkins & Bennett, 1985, p. 215). A number of escorts have told me, for instance, that quite often clients will pay for an hour of their time—not for sex, but because they simply want counselling. As one working-girl put it,

> Sometimes they just want to talk. Hell, I don't even take off my clothes. In an average one hour booking, the bonk lasts for about five minutes. Then I get to listen to his problems for the rest of the time." (Hanson, interview).

Katherine, a sex-worker/therapist, told me she often asks clients what they want to be when they grow up.

This simple post-coital question provides an opportunity for men to talk about their hopes and dreams, and these, apparently, are topics they can't easily discuss with their mates in the pub. Katherine also specializes in helping clients with premature ejaculation and impotency (Hanson, interview).

On a personal level, I find spending time at parlours, agencies and on ships very therapeutic. Sex, as you may well imagine, is a frequent topic of conversation in these venues. The key word here is tolerance of sexual differences and preferences, or as Mistress Ann says, "Absolutely nothings shocks me anymore. I don't have any fantasies left because I have tried them all" (Hanson, interview). One story generally leads to another and I always come away feeling ever so sexually well-adjusted. Perhaps the honesty and directness of the industry *is* the best therapy when it comes to questions about sex and sexuality.

The Adult Educator/Sex Industry Relationship

Catherine Healy and Anna Reed (1994, p. 17) express the sex-industry's view of its place in adult education when they write:

> We look forward to the day when the contribution that sex workers can make to the health of the whole community is recognized. Only then might the word 'prostitute' be replaced with the phrase 'safe-sex educator' (p. 17).

From an academic perspective, Michael Welton (1987) is among those who recognizes that adult educators would do well to expand their traditional horizons, "We've heard the songs adult educators think their learners want to sing. But have we really heard the songs being sung in the side streets, back yards and cabarets?" (p. 66).

Can academic adult educators make a contribution to sex-industry education? As a university researcher my focus, at this introductory stage, is writing about sex-workers for sex-workers. A number of my descriptive articles, (including a earlier draft of this conference paper) are making their rounds in the sex industry. Generally my work is well received by prostitutes, madams and support people. I accept their praise as the highest possible compliment—because if people in the sex-industry disagree with what I write they are not afraid to say that either. Susan, a madam and a personal friend, told me the reason people in the sex-industry talk with me as much they do is because they appreciate what I write about them. That they trust me with their information. This I view this as a responsibility. I try to write for them and about them as an empathetic, but critical, observer. Rather than simply collecting information to write academic papers, I feel I have an obligation to give something back to people in the sex-industry for their help, support and social good times. Further, I think we, as adult educators, could learn a lot from the prostitutes in terms of informal educational methodologies and honesty—if, that is, we are prepared to set aside our 'liberalistic' and traditional' notions of what constitutes adult education and where (and how) people should be educated. Frankly, the sex-industry people I have met in Canada, Nigeria, and Tanzania over the years and, now, in New Zealand have certainly helped educate this adult educator. They have also given my work an international perspective (Hanson, 1994e & interviews). The brothel and the street, I argue, can be wonderful educational venues if we are prepared to learn, share and communicate rather than judge.

But can we make a contribution? My paper on learning B & D, for example, has been deemed useful by a number of people in the sex-industry. A woman working in another city told me she did a bit of B & D so I sent her a copy of the paper. It sparked an interest in the apprenticeship aspect of the speciality, so she called Mistress Ann to discuss spending some time working with her. (As an aside, there was a touch of teacher-pride in Mistress Ann's voice when she told me about the call.) At another agency a young woman who became a B & D mistress to fill a sudden vacancy told me she found my paper helpful because it outlined a way to go about studying the speciality. She also decided to take a first-aid course after reading the piece I had written. A number of escorts have told me that they hadn't thought about certain aspects of their work until they read my outsider's perspectives. Another sex-worker mentioned that my paper on ship-molls (Hanson, 1994a) challenged her stereotypical images of the women who go on the boats and that she had altered her opinion of them. So far mine is a small contribution, to be sure, but it is a start, partly because my papers provide a point of reference for

prostitutes to talk about their work, their experiences and their contributions.

Conclusion

Informal and nonformal adult education programmes currently underway in the New Zealand sex-industry warrant recognition and support. I do not want to leave readers with the impression that the sex-industry in New Zealand is a workers' paradise of learning opportunities. There are, to be sure, problems similar to those found in other industries. These include power struggles and worker exploitation. Educating the public about the need to decriminalize prostitution and helping with programmes in the areas of physical, emotional or chemical abuse are opportunities for supportive adult educators to help prostitutes. And 'help', rather than control or dominate, is the operative word here. Sex-workers, generally, do not see themselves as marginal or needing to be saved. Thus, evangelical approaches are met with resistance and closing of the ranks (Hanson, interviews).

The fact that the sex-industry is using the same methodologies as formally trained adult educators must give us pause. On the one hand, it confirms the idea that our practices are valid, and that we are, indeed, using methodologies which work; and, on the other hand, the sex-industry provides initiatives which adult educators might want to consider citing as examples of effective practice—or, as I have learned, 'hanging out with the hookers' is, perhaps, the most adult of education.

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EPISTEMOLOGY AND THE POLITICS OF SELF-EDUCATION: A STUDY IN ACADEMIC SUPPORT FOR COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT[1]

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Pause a moment and consider the extent to which this local problem of positivist science serves as but an example of a much more global issue, and is one in which the powers of social epistemology might be usefully employed by adults of all sections of life and political persuasion.

> *In current discussions, one can discern the surreptitious return of a rhetoric that metamorphoses the fields 'proper' to scientific analysis, while, in research laboratories, one finds an increasing distance between actual everyday practices (practices of the same order as the art of cooking) and the 'scenarios' that punctuate with utopian images the hum of operations in every laboratory. On the one hand, mixtures of science and fiction; on the other, a disparity between the spectacle of overall strategies and the opaque reality of local tactics. We are thus led to inquire into the 'underside' of scientific activity and to ask whether it does not function as a collage-juxtaposing, but linking less and less effectively, the theoretical ambitions of the discourse with the stubborn persistence of ancient tricks in the everyday work of agencies and laboratories. In any event, this split structure, observable in so many administrations and companies, requires us to rethink all the tactics which have so far been neglected by the epistemology of science.*
> (de Certeau, 1984:xxiii).

It has been claimed by those before us, that the purpose of a university is the growth of knowledge and reason. Surely then it is those elements, and particularly the act of enabling reason, which necessitate the continued partnership of the academy with the community. In educating the adult educator we could in fact look to no better discipline than that of epistemology within social philosophy for it is here that ways of knowing and ways to enable the reasoning of others is studied. By teaching adult educators to understand different forms of the growth of knowledge, and encouraging them to pass it on to others, we have set the groundwork for all other forms of education to take place, including the continued self-education of the community.

Epistemology can be considered as the foundation of political power for it is the basis to reasoned action. Or to put it another way, there is power in being able to recognise the patterns of different ways of knowing for then it is easy to figure out how to counter oppressive intellectual practices. For instance, to recognise how knowledge is actually used in the living social world, is to understand how the negotiations of change and tradition are empowered. To demonstrate the strength of social epistemology, this paper will relate a recent incident concerning pest-control planning, where the deliberate use of different ways of knowing assisted a small community to overcome the tactics of a state institution eager not only to get its own way but at the same time be seen publicly to be right and good.

Epistemological strategies were employed to force the oppressor institution into a position where local people could be involved in negotiating a change to original plans. To get to this situation required the community to be seen as possessing more and better knowledge than the original planners. There were four groups centrally involved in this scenario; the State institution [DoC], the State appointed and District Council mediators, a nationally-organised protest lobby [TAANZ] and a small locally-organised group of individuals. This group, 'The Friends of Karioi Mountain' [FoKM], was assisted by academic strengths in social epistemology to become the first New Zealand community to formally negotiate changes to a State-organised pest-control operation. But it must be acknowledged that to get to that situation would have been impossible

without the aid of the mediators and TAANZ, who each took different approaches to this issue.

In the politics of everyday life, even with a problem as seemingly simple as pest-control, issues are usually concerned in some way with the negotiation of power, but in this context what did 'power' mean in essence? For the State institution power lay in the methods of natural science. It might as easily have been the power of quantities of money but it wasn't. The institution centred its claims for the safe use of a poison in the power of the methods of scientific research to not only tell the truth, but to coerce the population into believing its facts. So for the community to be seen as having more and better knowledge than the original planners, the counter power lay in seeking problems in those methods and the way the methods were used to persuade people. It called first for determining the institution's paradigm and recognising its set of epistemological assumptions, for paradigms or worldviews act as epistemological blankets.

The Department of Conservation began making the paradigm of their epistemology clear. To be seen to comply with the law as in the Resource Management Act, DoC personnel visited homes and farms, seeking consent for their undertaking by discussing their plans on a one to one basis only, concentrating on 'the facts' of the matter 'at the end of the day', and later appearing to be casually passing the time with idle but usually mildly malicious gossip, about any neighbours whose "self-interest" (read 'disapproval') was holding up Conservation Department plans. This use of privacy and gossip whilst trying to obtain permission illustrates the politics of creating a positive 'we' and a negative 'other'. It reflected the groundwork of a classical political positivist. But thee was more to the epistemology of this positivist paradigm than merely this social division of vested interests.

Another epistemological assumption lay in the Departments taking for granted that everyday people would unquestionably accept facts and figures as truths, believing in the power of numbers rather than well reasoned argument, and moreover that everyday people would accept the hearsay of facts and figures, as expressed by DoC in these one-to-one conversations and in the persuasions of their press releases ("Our research tells us that..."). The hearsay of science was their major error for then they were conflating scientific truths with the public communication of those views. Scientists as science. The subjective as objective. Members of the rural community saw only that the institution's practice of urban individualism ('pick off the locals one by one') was not a rural way of communicating and trusting one's neighbours. Ideological as idiological.

Another trait of the classical positivist is single mindedness. Here the Department of Conservation became a victim of its own folly, for they appeared to expect that the only form of counter-argument they would receive would be directed at the ontological foundations of their scientific claims. A head-on collision between science and science. That is, they appeared to believe that people would only challenge the content of the scientific facts about 1080 which the institution had so carefully selected. It seemed no one at DoC had prepared for a challenge to their management and communications. The national political group, TAANZ, accepted this head-on confrontational position challenging DoC's facts with scientific studies from other places and times. But the well-prepared positivist's expected such opposition and were already on the defence. Their plans for counter attack included the aforementioned **social** division of the opposition down 'quirky-personality' and 'strange-values' lines. DoC's single minded pursuit. Their belief in facts and figures as truths and their deliberate social divisioning of vested interests, all confirmed their involvement in the positivist scientific paradigm.

Not all people in opposition work down the same lines, countering the positivist paradigm by flipping it on its back. The workings of the Friends of Karioi lay in the paradigm of the negative dialectic which is far more flexible in nature. This paper will now explore how the epistemology of the positivistic power DoC employed became central to creating possibilities for change from within the negative dialectic. Should the language in the explanation which follows prove somewhat difficult to understand, I have drawn on a commonplace metaphor, that of a badly-grazed knee. In this way you may have more empathy with the hidden or obscure potentials of each of these ways of knowing.

In theoretical terms, the notions which each of these paradigms share in common are the ideas of a

positive identity, a negative identity, and negation. Negation is the act of making absent. The power of classical scientific positivism lies in its Identificatory philosophy because it tries to single mindedly focus all attention on one specific object (the scientific evidence of 1080 safety) and rejects or obscures everything else beyond it. In other words, scientific positivism seeks a positive identity while negating the negative identity or hiding it, or using it to blame. Then this very act of negation is itself obscured as if the positivist's diplomatic immunity relied upon it. In essence, the positivist's approach to the negative of an accident is to forget about the grazed knee and get on with the game. They dislike the negative and choose at all times to blame it, expunge it, ignore it, forget it, or obscure it from public scrutiny. That it might later fester or cause trouble in another negative way is of little concern to the moment. Onward and upward is the battle cry. Forget the blood and pain. Progress with 'what is' going on in order to win. That they created the battle in the first place appears to escape their notice.

The direct converse of this position was the paradigm tack which TAANZ took, identifying the negative Identity instead. In this confrontational position of a Marxian critique, antagonists cleanse the wound, stitch it but then leave the stitches unplastered so the public can view the distress of the wound while still identifying with the game. The negative is publicised. The player takes on the form of an antihero; as one with the strength to play on in spite of the apparent negatives. But from such a directly antagonistic approach it can be difficult to force change, since the powerful positivist has come to the battleground with 'all the scientific answers' in tow. Fighting science with science can be extremely difficult, even when it is necessary.

The negative dialectic on the other hand, as a forerunner to current post-modernist philosophy, acts not to form an identification or definition of something, but seeks possibility by looking beyond 'what is' for 'what might be'. The negative dialectician, in spite of the pain, finds the graze a place of fascination. To seek its reality and understand its possibility in detail it is necessary to 'blast open' the cut. One can imagine a negative dialectician beginning the inquisition by gripping the skin on each side and ripping the wound further apart, locating pockets of fester along with bits of clean undamaged tissue. Negating the original appearance, the positive identity, is the necessary first step. Then seek the negatives and negations that caused the fall and the graze. Negation may take many forms—forgetting, silence, being new and naive, miss-taking or gossip, blaming, ignoring, or plain trickery. Only by deconstructive scrutiny on both or either of the positive and the negatives will the world change! The way that the pain, the blood, and the undamaged tissue relate to each other is a source of something new! For the injured negative dialectician then, reclaiming the power to control the knee's movement (or pest control operation) required seeking out these different forms of negation and returning the epistemological favour, not necessarily by emulating the negation but by publicly exposing it. For the one other matter which rules the methods of the positivist who set up the accident in the first place is a terror that any error of their own making might be publicly exposed. Error and image do not live easily together for those who cause others trouble while making themselves look good.

These then are the epistemological bases to the paradigmatic possibilities of the Wounded Knee of pest control operations. Each may be viewed metaphorically as a different kind of response to a bad graze, but the evidence is the experience of trying to change DoC's plans to drop 1080 pellets from the air onto Mt. Karioi, Raglan, New Zealand. We need to see now how different forms of negation identified and were exposed.

To return to the very beginning, the real origin was the problem of controlling the numbers of tree browsing opossums which are slowly devastating large tracts of native forest throughout New Zealand. The community issue concerned the Department of Conservation's [DoC's] plan to aerially-distribute 1080 poison on the forested tops of a small windswept coastal mountain near a rural community in order to kill the opossum. That is, they planned to drop the light-weight pellets from a helicopter over an area of land which was constantly swept by strong and unpredictable west-coast winds. 1080 is a banned poison in most of the civilised world.[2] The mountain has a magical quality about it. People 'feel good' being on it and the two main consequences of this are that real estate is extremely difficult to come by and people feel the mountain is theirs—a public spiritual reserve. Even in simple numerical terms

safety was the prime issue, for around Karioi Mountain live 184 families and on its slopes, often unfenced from the forest, sheep, and cattle are farmed. In addition, holiday makers, weekend visitors, locals, and overseas tourists tramp the tracks through the evergreen forest and ferns all year round.

Related to the initial problem of opossum was that of guardianship of the land and forest. With the moves to privatisation in New Zealand, and the creation of State Owned Enterprises, the care of the steeper slopes in the centre of the mountain have recently passed from the Forestry Department to the Department of Conservation. While under the care of the Forestry Department, local people had on contract and otherwise, hunted the opossum and other forest foragers such as pig and wild goat. In this way the locals had been responsible for pest control and had learned a great deal about the mountain, its weather patterns, and changes in flora and fauna between the coastal and inland sides. The elders in the community knew the history of the mountain, and could point out among the dead standing trees, for instance, those which had been killed by accidental fire rather than opossum damage. So in addition to a lot of love, a lot of valuable local knowledge about the mountain was created, knowledge which to this day remains mostly undocumented.

The local region's branch of the Department of Conservation (DoC) was guardian to some of the most important and extensive remaining tracts of virgin native forest in the North Island. However, not only did DoC not document local knowledge, but they did little during the first years of their care except spend time and money in telling the region how they were appearing to control the foragers. The numbers of opossum did not significantly change during this period and DoC openly blamed the management of contract hunters it had employed, although when one read the contract, the real problem issued from the DoC office. However, DoC continued to claim that the move from contract trapping to aerial seeding was necessary given the "urgency" of the opossum numbers and the "rarity" of this coastal forest type.

On the national scale, the Department of Conservation had recently begun a determined campaign to control (rather than eradicate) opossum in New Zealand. Personnel reported that the local branch office was beating the other provinces in its efforts to be the first and best in the national pest-control programme. Classical positivism again, being first and best. In fact, competition within the institution itself seemed at times more important than forming workable long-term relations within the communities who were, in fact, DoC's neighbours around each forested area. Nationally, the pest-control programme was a political game that openly displayed contradiction which can clearly be seen in the local example.

New Zealand fosters a 'clean green' image and this community was being disempowered by that ideology. Community resistance was being publicised nationally by DoC as being opposition to the much-needed control of the opossum and care of the environment. But no such resistance actually existed. For the community the real contradiction was DoC's quick-fix solution of using a dangerous non-antidote poison to support the clean green image, rather than using safer alternative forms to control, such as contract trapping by locals. In effect, DoC's understanding of 'environment' could not have included animals or humans, for if it had, how did their clean green ideology fit with the issue of safety when no one knew where the pellets would be dropping in the wind (and could thus keep dogs, grazing stock, tourists and small children away from dying opossum and the cereal bars of 1080)?

The community of Raglan was being presented with a situation where an institution was using classical positivist strategies to persuade the locals to consent to something debatable and contradictory. Negations cried for public exposure. The first sign of negation was separating individual from individual to form private rather than public forums. The second negation was the deliberate avoidance of local knowledge and its substitution with the power of 'scientific' ways of knowing. Or so it first appeared.

Undoing those two negations by making the private public, and forefronting local knowledge, were the first counter strategies of political action. Assistance with challenging the opposition was provided by the law. For the Department of Conservation to continue with their plan they needed to obtain the consent of their neighbours. But they were not attempting to obtain reasoned or informed consent. Haste was

needed if the community were to force at least a pause in DoC's schedule so that people could have the opportunity to become informed and make reasoned choices.

Concerted political action began. The initial move was to draw both the 'we' and the 'others' into the single arena of public meetings, and thereby turn the private into something public so that people could more closely examine the social efficacy of the use of 1080. One group, TAANZ, set up a public meeting in the Town Hall on a weekend and again on a week night so that commuting locals could attend. They were determined to raise public awareness. Then the other group, the Friends of Karioi Mountain (FoKM), prepared a sheet of questions which was both distributed at one of the public meetings and also posted to the 1440 households in the district. The sheet suggested that people discuss specific issues like where they obtained and stored their water and what they would do with any dead possum carcasses they found. Now that these two groups had succeeded in bringing the community to one setting and had raised some specific ideas with them, it was time for the Friends themselves to counter the negations of DoC.

The Friends strategy was to uncover any form of negation which exposed an untruth. In addition to always trying to 'accentuate the positive' while quietly or casually negating the negative, the strongest epistemological tactics within DoCs strategy were 'always having an answer' and giving answers in a general rather than specific form. To negate this way of knowing, at the public meetings the Friend's counter strategy was to feed into this epistemology by only slightly altering it. The Friends would ask questions which focussed on specificity rather than waffled generality, all the while retaining the inclusive on-sidedness of 'we'. The Friends of Karioi asked specific questions which had a profound effect on the audience.

The first question focussed on DoC's attempts to accentuate the positive. DoC had publicly claimed to be acting within the law as seen by having obtained the permission of the region's Medical Officer of Health. This was tantamount to demonstrating the safety of 1080. But DoC had neglected to seek specific knowledge of local concerns. One of the most important safety questions for mountain dwelling residents concerned people drawing water for farm stock and household use[3] directly from streams within the 1080 drop zone. At the public meeting, FoKM simply asked the regional manager of the Department for the legal definition of a waterway. It was the first question from the floor and it asked for exact legal detail. As expected, the answer was that in New Zealand a stream is defined in the Resource Management Act as a body of water which averages 3 m in width and 1 m in depth for two thirds of the length of its flow. But of course, on steep volcanic hillsides like Karioi, there is probably not one single metre of stream that falls within this definition. This meant that the source of people's water was beyond legal protection. When the audience heard the answer and it dawned on them that their waterways were in fact little protected by the law, and thus perhaps beyond the jurisdiction of the Medical Officer of Health, there was an uproar of disbelief, nervous laughter and mockery. The reason was obvious. At least twenty properties piped water directly from the streams without necessarily using long-term water storage facilities. To the ordinary people of Raglan the deliberate politics of mismanagement became evident in the answer to that single first question: neither DoC nor the Medical Officer of Health was really concerned with local safety at all. Each now appeared to be more concerned to be seen to be acting within the law. And each was thus protected in law. But were the public?

Having framed that question from **within** the epistemology of DoC's paradigm led to an answer which allowed the public to see that reason and reasonableness are not the same, even though people tend to spend a lot of their social lives trusting that this is indeed the case. This is especially true for rural people where trust of neighbours is an important, and at times even a crucial aspect of the culture of relative isolation. Using the same politic as DoC, accentuating the positive (the law), but in far more detail, enabled the listening people to see that they had to take control of their own knowledge about things like the safety of their water supply, knowledge which previously they might have taken for granted as the concern of the Medical Officer of Health where the use of 1080 was planned.

At the same public meeting, the second question centred on DoC's negating of the negative. The question took some time to come for it was not clear

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whether DoC's negation was a mistake or an act of deliberate avoidance. The issue concerned why DoC had left perfectly ordinary knowledge off a diagram they were using to persuade the public. The drawing was an image of the area of the planned 1080 drop. It was roughly a square with an arm out to one side and several disparate little circles on an adjacent side. But there were no roads drawn on the map—and since there is only one road around the mountain its nonappearance at first seemed to be a matter of sloppy preparation for the meeting. The questioner asked a member of DoC to physically point to where the coastal road was in relation to the blocked out sections on the map. Reflection on the answer quickly revealed another story. The drop was planned not only up to but also over the public road and into a seaward gorge constantly visited by tourists, trampers, fisherman, school parties, the Army on overnight exercises, and Sunday drivers walking their dogs and collecting firewood. Yet not one single mention of dropping 1080 into the Gorge or onto this popular stretch of coastal road had been made in public. People's perception was that the drop was to occur "**high up on the mountain**" where only the fittest ever went and where intervening farmland separated the DoC estate from the public thoroughfare. Now issues of politically—motivated mismanagement were confirmed. DoC planned to drop 1080 onto land which was not yet their own (though they were negotiating to buy it), land which was recognised by locals as a place to visit when one wanted the seawinds to clear the week's cobwebs away. Again DoC's reply caused angst in the audience.

The straw that broke the camels back was a rigid put down of the land rights of local people which did not come from a question but from an emotional outburst. Here we were addressing this wind-torn forest which was considered sacred and a place to be shared by everyone. But under the pressure of having the Department's strategy blowing out the window, the Regional Director cried out that the mountain estate "was DoC's land and they'd do what they liked." Oopsy daisy. DoC continued trying to placate the community about the efficacy, efficiency, and economy of aerially-seeding the mountain with 1080 pellets. Those seated together in the front rows were DoC-invited guests and the Chairperson called them one by one to speak for the plan. These people included a former chairperson of the national environment-protection group who was now known as having 'switched sides' in that he was seen to agree with rather than argue about government environmental issues. Alongside him sat two 'famous' locals. One of them was a nationally-recognised activist for Maori affairs and respected elder, but one who was getting more set in her views and dogmatic as time went on, and the other was a Professor who publicly aired his views on national issues from time to time. One might usually consider all three persons to have claims to fame in some way in New Zealand. But it was a mistake to believe national heroes are also local ones. People tend to judge the famed by the consistencies between what they say nationally and what they do locally, Err!!!!! More than many other errors, the mistake of this coercive strategy was that of using famous people whose real 'truths' were open to question in daily life. This strategy bit deep into the soul of members of the community who felt they were being treated like ignorant fools by the Conservation Department. People were talking outside long after the meeting had finished, about being "made to feel dumb". DoC had neglected to ascertain who was actually believable and persuasive in the community itself. As luck would have it at that time, the articulate teenage grandson of the Maori elder stood and spoke loudly, passionately, and concisely, claiming the mountain as the land of the children of the town, and asking who had the right to make their decisions for them? Children had been negated by everyone, yet in some ways the mountain was more used to their presence than that of adults. The grandson received a standing ovation. A child had the mana to state the issue and claim the right for negotiation. No longer did DoC "own it" and could "do what they liked" with it.

Using de Certeau's term, DoC's 'collage' of power was the apparent weight of scientific evidence coupled with the ideology of New Zealand's clean green image. But their epistemology was based in 'being the same', 'accentuating the positive' and 'having the answer ready'. By ignoring the scientific body of knowledge for which they had the answers ready, and accentuating the negations instead, it was clear that DoC's image and reality were not 'the same'. The rug was pulled from beneath their feet. When someone from the floor then requested time for the community to negotiate with the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, DoC's Regional Head of Department agreed and then increased her

list of errors by claiming that this ombudsman was on DoC's side, knew what was going on in this district and furthermore would give support to the original plans. Nothing was further from the truth as the Friends found out when they faxed the Commissioner the next morning with suggestions of their own. Raglan obtained a stay of execution until the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, who worked as an ombudsman outside of the Conservation Department jurisdiction, met with concerned groups and assisted the community through the impasse.

Given about a month of time before the Parliamentary Commissioner could visit, the Friends effected two changes of strategy. They changed the focal body of knowledge from science to safety (which the populace saw as equally important), and in so doing challenged DoC's epistemological base. Whereas the scientific evidence of 1080 was being churned out as if the facts were real, one and only truths, safety matters could not rely on such a polarised or absolute conception. Safety, like health, is a relative grey issue, because its black and whites could only be 'life' or 'death'. Once we got rid of the idea of 1080 only being likely to cause 'death', we could refer to the idea of sub-lethal doses, and this considerably broadened the base about which information was sought. For instance we could seek information on first aid and continued medical care and the kinds of diseases which could exacerbate problems if a sub-lethal dose was inhaled or ingested. Where the change in body of knowledge was concerned, the Friends of Karioi had decided to circumvent the scientific claims of DoC not only because this was the area where the TAANZ group had already acquired significant expertise, and not only because in the given time frame, everyday people stood little chance of beating the weight of scientific evidence without already possessing the skills of speedy resource seeking and indepth research reading, but also because science appeared to have this very inherent power that de Certeau referred to. DoC's negations of safety issues were much easier to counter as they were based in the positivist politics of social control. If the negations could be seen as important enough, then the community could prove that they had not had a chance to make informed consent. They could argue that they had not been given to opportunity to make reasoned decisions when DoC had obtained their own version of 'consent'.

It was time for the Friends to resurrect that negated body of local knowledge and to seek within that body, the negations and negatives of the "need" for 1080 on Mt. Karioi. So in the four weeks before the Parliamentary Commissioner arrived, the Friends of Karioi Mountain diligently conducted an inductive research programme with 92 of the 184 households around the mountain. What did the community people know about the effects of 1080 which might impinge on the safety of their daily living in the weeks that followed the drop? What were the hot spots and hazards to local safety should the 1080 drop occur? Could each household think of particular issues which might effect them and their neighbours only?

The Friends of Karioi research team identified DoC's negations by finding out 'what was not' said and done, or said and not done, or done and not said. The Friends form of critique was different from that of the opposition. One main thing was that they criticised ideas rather than personalities. As with a grazed knee, scientific positivism ignored and ignores at its peril the nature of the negative. In disowning or disavowing the negative, its own 'scientific' epistemology and methods allow a festering to occur for it fails to examine what it leaves behind. It fails to examine what it negates. And in that vast field of negated objects lies the possibility of finding things that cry for change. This was where the Friends of Karioi aimed their critique.

Some of exposed negations can now be identified.

1. DoC asked that the site of the airstrip from which the helicopter would fly be kept secret in case of sabotage. However it transpired there was an even more important need for diplomatic quietude. The planned airstrip was three kilometres from the closest area of the drop zone, and pellets might easily have fallen or been blown onto the farmland that needed to be crossed. Indeed the dog kennels were right on the flight path. The farmer who had given his consent to use the paddock as an airstrip and loading bay had understood that the baits would be broken down in two days (sic) and therefore any residue would not have dire consequences as long as he was careful for that long. However, the same farmer and his brother owned an airstrip within a few hundred metres of the DoC estate yet DoC had chosen not

to use it because it would require them replacing metal on the muddy access track to it. According to the Parliamentary Commissioner's aide. DoC's vested interest in keeping this information about the distant airstrip quiet was because they were deliberately flouting the law in flying in from so far away. The negation was countered by a point of law.

2. DoC claimed it had consent from all but two adjoining landowners, one of whom abstained while the other refused. However, there were actually 14 legally-adjoining landowners, so the statistics should have been rounded from 7% to 14% etc. However there was a 12% and a 4% given for negative responses, so whose mathematics formed the truths of those statistics? Using mistaken or falsified statistics are not a useful strategy for a scientist.

3. Though they vehemently disclaimed that this was the case, of the four farmers who openly but privately consented to the aerial drop of 1080, three had blocks of native bush which the Department just coincidentally decided to purchase right at this time, albeit through another statutory body. DoC personnel claimed negotiations to purchase would never have effected the farmers willingness to give consent. Exposure of this 'negative fact' by the Friends of Karioi caused acrimony for everyone, but illustrated a very strong point. Informed consent or sublimal coercion? This too would make a fine battle in a court of law.

4. DoC had obtained consent to drop 1080 pellets into a privately-owned deep ravine on the seaward side of Karioi. Off all the spiritual feelings people held for the mountain, this one ravine was the single most tapu or sacred spot. Both Pakeha and Maori alike claimed to have seen or been effected by the spirits of the people who were flung from the cliffs last century, falling 300' to their death. The place is named Te Toto (The Blood) Gorge. In New Zealand, the Resource Management Act requires that in obtaining consent, that the spirituality of sacred lands be respected. Once again the Department was acting on the very edge of the law.

5. In DoC's efforts to obtain local consent, the views of women were ignored. In one quadrant of the mountain, seven women farmed but not one was every approached by DoC. It transpired that in the past DoC had funded research which showed women were the gender most likely to refuse consent; that they are the least easily persuaded. With this negation, DoC could escape the letter of the law because none of the women's land was actually directly adjoining, and so their consent was not actually required, but then neither was the land of others whose consents were being used in the persuasive statistics. Once again, the methods of scientific analysis were being used not to form facts but to substantiate a political claim.

6. DoC compounded the coercion of their idea to purchase land by also offering to drop 1080 pellets onto several of these sections of private bush without charge. This was not only coercive in nature but also out rightly stupid, for beside one of these sections of bush lived two women farmers, now in their 80's, were nationally recognised as dog breeders and trialists. Yet they had not been approached by DoC for consent or even as a precaution. It transpired eventually that DoC had made a mistake in identifying the owner of the bush anyway. Here they were with their aerial maps ready for transposing into the Global Navigation System, and someone was about to find 1080 where none was expected. Exposing stupidity and error does not require exposure to the law. Enough is enough.

7. The Department's documentation for the drop acknowledged in one sentence alone that Karioi was a windy mountain, but any more detailed information about the (admittedly unpredictable) weather patterns was missing. This was a vital negation for the weather is not only unpredictable but differs significantly from one side of the mountain to the other. In the seaward gorge for instance, the updraught of constant winds ensures a minimal rainfall but a maximum of gale force winds, especially when compared to the weather on the other side of the mountain. Since weather data are no longer available for localised rural areas in New Zealand, the Friends had no way to convince the Commissioner of the truth - except that she had the foresight to check out our claims by accepting a drive to the Gorge itself during one of its gales. No comments was given and none

was needed. The weather backed up its own truth.

The Friends had been successful in exposing the Conservation Department's negations. Though there were others as well, this sample of negations is enough to illustrate how the production of a new body of knowledge and its use to locate the negations of an institutional oppressor, lead to change.

The next day the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment returned to the city and spent the day with DoC staff. Much later, after a meal celebrating with wine, one of the DoC staff admitted that the Commissioner had "given them hell". The upshot was that the Friends of Karioi and others were invited around a negotiating table and eventually we managed to obtain a satisfactory compromise to the blanket drop. Those who refused consent were given a 200 metre zone of contract trapping which ensured the farmland was missed and stock were safe. Some farmers who initially consented said that this was the last time they would do so. We also negotiated total avoidance of Te Toto Gorge and that all watersources would be avoided for 500m upstream. That we managed to miss one stream in marking them on the photographic map, and that the Medical Officer of Health found a significant number of pellets in it, was warning enough. It remains to be seen what politic DoC will engage next time they decide to kill opossum on Mt. Karioi.

In conclusion it can be seen that changing the body of knowledge targeted from science to safety, and searching for as much local knowledge on safety as possible, using maps, figures and diagrams, helps document and order the most serious of the negations of the opposition. Concentrating on locating and carefully noting the evidence of negations of any kind has the effect of making the positivist institution stand up and account for its errors. That academics had been able to assist a small community to control its own fate, illustrates the power of social epistemology more than anything else. Adult educators should seriously consider the value of taking this discipline to heart when it makes moves to more closely bond the community and the academy.

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[2]1080 is the trade name of a non-antidote poison. 1080 poison is more lethal to cats, dogs, sheep, and cattle than it is to opossum. It is also lethal to children in the planned dosage for use on Karioi Mountain yet was still prepared as green muesli bars or dried green porridge pellets whose actual ground placement would remain unknown once it was dropped from the helicopter.

[3]Pipes were laid in open streams high within the boundary of where DoC planned the drop. For years people had been catching water from there and in some cases the water was piped directly into stock troughs and houses without the use of holding tanks (and therefore without a holding period in which any stray 1080 baits which were piped down might also break down).

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POSTMODERNITY AND THE EDUCATING OF EDUCATORS

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The contemporary period is often characterised as one of unpredictable change in which taken for granted assumptions are being shaken and displaced. This is as true in the field of adult education as elsewhere. Assumptions about what constitutes the field of adult education and its values and purposes have all been questioned. As a greater number of adults from a diversity of backgrounds enter an increasing variety of programmes, adult educators are increasingly faced with new and difficult questions about their identity and purpose.

The current conjuncture in which adult education finds itself is one which itself poses difficult questions of interpretation. For some (e.g. Giddens 1990 and 1991), the economic, technological and cultural changes of the present, changes which constitute a condition of late modernity, represent an intensification of already existing trends. For others (e.g. Lyotard 1984; Harvey 1991), these trends signify the inability of modernity to fulfil its aspirations and represent what has come to be termed a condition of postmodernity. In effect, the only thing which appears certain is the lack of certainty about how to characterise the increasing complexity of contemporary times.

In this paper we propose to speculate, from a perspective of postmodernity, on the prospects for university adult education and the formation of adult educators. This is not to say that we accept completely that we have now entered a new historical period of postmodernity. However, only by engaging with the issues raised by postmodernity can adult educators find the interpretive frameworks and conceptual resources to enable them to critically engage with contemporary tasks. Fresh forms of analysis are needed to make sense of what is occurring. The challenges of postmodernity provoke different questions and suggest answers which, whilst not necessarily sustaining currently constituted university adult education, nonetheless provide the basis for a reframing of the theory, purposes and practices of that sector of the moorland which is adult learning.

This paper will be in three parts. In the first part, we outline some of the key socioeconomic and cultural changes in the present period. In the second, we examine how some of those changes are being manifested in the world of adult learning. Thirdly, we speculate on the implications of all this for the educating of adult educators and for adult education as a university-based academic study. The positions we will outline do not represent firm conclusions but are presented as contributions for the debate and dialogue that is necessary if adult educators are to engage with problems of the present and future, rather than remain in a state of nostalgia for an imagined past.

The Condition of Postmodernity

The current conjuncture has been characterised in economic terms as a period of revitalised capital accumulation based on globalisation—the integration of the economies of nation-states through market mechanisms, accompanied by the transnational flexibility of capital and labour markets and the new forms of information technology which enable new forms of production, distribution and consumption. Economic competitiveness requires a flexibility that has resulted in a shift towards post-Fordist forms of work organisation in situations where customised design for market niches in a fragmented and volatile market for goods and services displaces mass production (Murray 1989). These post-Fordist forms are manifested in flatter management structures, a decline of centralised trade union bargaining power and a demand for a 'multi-skilled' workforce. Marketisation and a culture of consumption become central to the economy as a whole. Changes

in products, services and working practices reconstruct the workplace and the social definition of skills.

These trends have not been experienced evenly across the globe. Workers in the 'first world' compete with those in countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and increasingly China (Reich 1993). There has been a large-scale restructuring of many economies and, as nation-states find themselves unable to maintain the profitability of a wide economic base, the ensuing loss of manufacturing industries in the older industrialised countries. Furthermore, whereas the early processes of modernisation brought people together in large scale industries in particular parts of the globe i.e. Western Europe and North America, the internationalisation of finance and the speed of communication and transportation now enables industries to be spread around the globe, exploiting the relatively low production costs and skills of newly industrialising countries.

The 'techno-scientific' revolution i.e. the recent developments in information technology, the media, transportation, and advances in communications has been a significant factor in globalisation. These developments, in conditions of flexible accumulation, have resulted in the reorganisation of space/time at many levels and in many ways. Two seemingly paradoxical yet interlinked processes, space/time compression coupled with an increased emphasis on 'place' and identity, can be discerned (Soja 1989; Robertson 1992). Greater integration of the global market produces both homogeneity and heterogeneity. As Giddens (1990) argues, globalisation has witnessed the universal spread of Western institutions and culture, yet these very trends have produced pressures for local sub-state autonomy and identity. Within the globalised economy this paradox is manifest in the competition between regions for investment and jobs, with each emphasising its uniqueness and difference as a place that will offer the most advantageous conditions for free-floating capital.

The same paradoxical process can be seen emerging from globalisation in the cultural sphere. At one level, urban and suburban landscapes become more identical with familiar icons such as McDonald's golden arches ubiquitously present, and media images instantly recognisable in every corner of the globe. We are witnessing a process of 'global cultural convergence, the production of universal cultural products and global market consumers' (Kenway et al 1993: 118). There is a process of commodification at work here too, the different and the exotic become seductive images to be desired and consumed. At the same time, however, globalisation induces effects of cultural specificity. We are all, for example, familiar with the media explosion generated by deregulation and greater accessibility to various means of communication, within and through which there is 'an apparently irresistible pluralisation of voices' (Vattimo 1992: 5). The globalisation of culture then far from repressing the local and the specific actually stimulates it. There is 'a renaissance of place bound traditions and ways of life' (Kenway et al ibid), a new sense of pride and value in the recognition of difference and the revival of hitherto suppressed identities.

It is clear therefore that alongside, and as part of, changes in the economy are changes in cultural forms. Cultural change has two dimensions here. First, in the realms of culture narrowly defined e.g. film, music, entertainment, fashion, architecture, art. Modernist seriousness and the search for deep hidden meaning is replaced by postmodern 'playfulness', surface, eclecticism and self referentiality Second, in the significance of culture generally to the economy and the social formation as a whole where hitherto tight boundaries between the realm of culture and the realm of the socioeconomic not only break down but the cultural and the aesthetic displace, or are valued more highly, than the economic and the functional (Lyon 1994). There is a consequent proliferation and fragmentation with an emphasis on the celebration of difference and a foregrounding of multiple identities.

In the contemporary period some have argued that these changes are linked to the presence of a consumer society where centres of production have been replaced by centres of consumption—financial services, shopping malls and superstores, entertainment complexes and theme parks—and where issues of lifestyle through consumption have become central. The aesthetic values which previously pervaded the arena of 'high' culture alone and the elite associated with that culture now pervade everyday life (Lash 1990; Featherstone 1991; Harvey 1991) and, equally,

everyday life now invades high culture. In effect, boundaries no longer operate in quite such an excluding and exclusive way. This is not to say that they have ceased to exist but rather that some have shifted and others have become more permeable.

Thus the 'culture' industries e.g. entertainment, the media, and increasingly education itself, have all become more significant in contemporary social formations. The influence of fashion, image and 'taste' pervade an all-embracing consumer culture. Choices about the clothes we wear, the food we eat, how we decorate our homes, the places we travel to, are a realisation of taste and taste is 'educated' through the media, advertising etc. as well as although increasingly less, through conventional modes of education and training. The media play a crucial part in this process, inciting desire through the outpouring of seductive images. Consumption is about **meaning**. We no longer necessarily consume for the sake of utility or need but in order to signify difference. A desirable lifestyle is no longer about consuming in order to be the same as others but rather about consuming in order to be different. Thus cultural change, linking with economic change, results in greater emphasis on the individual as a consumer of products and services. The contemporary situation is therefore one where socio-cultural **distinction** overlays and displaces socioeconomic division. Those excluded from the realms of choice, yet who are nonetheless affected by the global reach of consumer society, find themselves increasingly subject to poverty and marginalisation.

In the development of a consumer society, with governments redrawing the boundaries of their responsibilities for citizenship (see Bauman 1993), the explosion in the availability of goods, services and information goes hand-in-hand with an increased responsibility for choices over the direction of lives being placed on individuals. Personal identity for many is increasingly reconstituted around choices about lifestyles, a process which can either be troublingly pleasurable, a celebration of diversity and difference, or a cause of existential anxiety and profound concern. In any event, life-planning becomes central to successfully negotiating the consumer society (Harvey 1991). But a central paradox then arises, that even as more emphasis is placed back on individuals the range and amount of information and choices becomes ever greater and more complex. Thus—

> individuals are expected to take responsibility for their own lives and to make the right decisions to further their own career chances, while at the same time being dependent on conditions that they can hardly see through, and certainly not determine (Jansen and Van der Veen 1992: 279).

Knowledge and Education in the Postmodern

In these processes of change, for some the very condition of knowledge is also redefined. Thus Lyotard (1984) argues that these technological, economic and cultural changes have resulted in a changed postmodern condition of knowledge. For Lyotard, the distinction between modern and postmodern conditions of knowledge is a matter of **purpose**. He argues that in modernity the production and dissemination of knowledge was justified on the grounds of its contribution to the pursuit of truth, liberty and the betterment of humanity. These 'metanarratives' legitimated instrumental rationality and the canons of scientific investigation. They were also the basis for the development of educational practices, central to establishing the university as the locus of knowledge production and dissemination.

Lyotard, along with others such as Bauman (1991), argues that in the light of the Holocaust, the Gulags and the threats posed by nuclear power and environmental degradation, these metanarratives have proved unsustainable. They are simply another language game in a multiplicity of language games. Rationalist and humanist discourses that try to justify certain forms of knowledge and certain educational practices fall away, replaced by a postmodern condition where knowledge is 'decentred' and where the power and purpose of modernist education including university education and the education and training of adults is increasingly questioned. Two paradoxical trends can be discerned. First, the criterion of optimising the efficient performance or 'performativity' of the system comes to the fore. It is the 'usefulness' of knowledge which is emphasised rather than its contribution to the epic progress of truth and humanity. In educational institutions, it is skills rather than ideals that are emphasised (Sarup 1993). Second, education in the postmodern,

detached from legitimating metanarratives, becomes increasingly based on specific cultural contexts, on localised and particularised knowledges, on the cultivation of desire, and on the valuing of a multiplicity of experience as an integral part of defining a lifestyle (Usher and Edwards 1994). In modernity, education is concerned with shaping a certain kind of disciplined subjectivity and identity rooted in a coherent, meaningful and masterable self. In postmodernity, this gives way to a 'playfulness' , where knowledge is valued for its 'interest' and where identity is formed and reformed in a constantly unfolding desire and an immersion in the multiplicity and openness of experience.

In addition to its effects on knowledge, Lyotard also argues that technology has a direct impact on opportunities for learning now available to adults. He suggests that technologically mediated knowledge-circulation provides the basis for individualising learning in a more complex and active way. For instance, individuals through computers, CD-ROM's, the Internet and E-mail can access information, interact with it and with others, without having to attend conventional centres of learning. However, the significant growth of open and distance learning in recent years is not simply about access and opportunity but is inscribed with deeper meanings.

As Lyotard (1984: 4) points out - 'Along with the hegemony of computers comes a certain logic and therefore a certain set of prescriptions determining which statements are accepted as "knowledge" statements'. Learning becomes a matter of quantities of information, and knowledge that is not transformable in this way no longer counts as knowledge. As a consequence, knowledge too becomes commodified—'an informational commodity indispensable to productive power' (Lyotard 1984: 5). The individualising processes which some argue humanise educational practices is actually then an outcome of technologically mediated learning. Knowledge becomes both commodified and 'mercantilised' , sought for its performativity rather than for its contribution to truth or human betterment. 'Educative' processes are displaced and reconstituted as a relationship between producer and consumer in which the knowledge is exchanged on the basis of the value it has to the consumer. Here the consumer is able to commodify their experience in exchange for qualifications (Usher 1992). In a consumer culture, the demand is for education to be 'value-adding'.

This suggests that there is a co-implication of the individualising discourses of learner centredness and trends towards the marketisation of learning opportunities where the value of knowledge is tied to optimising the efficiency of the system. 'Useful' knowledge then is that which is saleable and performative. As Lyotard (1984: 51) points out this creates 'a vast market for competence in operational skills' . The trading of knowledge spreads from the commercial realm to the realm of higher education, with institutions increasingly reconstructing themselves as enterprises to compete in the knowledge business. The privileged status of higher education as the primary producer of 'knowledge' is thereby lost as it becomes part of a wider knowledge market—including research and development departments of large companies, consultancies, think-tanks—within which it competes. Educational institutions both become geared to producing the personnel of post-Fordism and are expected to themselves behave in post-Fordist ways (Ball 1990). Rather than being governed by some vision of service or a commitment to a just society, the activities of professionals are increasingly governed by managerialism and the criteria of effectivity. Skilled performance embodied in 'competences' becomes an increasingly significant part of the agenda and an increasingly important and valued outcome of learning.

For Lyotard, systemic efficiency is linked to the technological and cultural changes outlined above wherein lifelong learning is constructed as one of the keys to economic competitiveness in the global marketplace. Performativity thereby entails the increasing vocationalisation of the curriculum and, alongside and as part of that, the individualising processes embedded in notions of a consumer society. This is significant in two ways. First, consumer tastes need to be constantly re-educated to fuel desires for new goods and services. To be able to cope with these choices, to make 'informed' choices, consumers need to be constantly learning and services need to be offered to help them make those choices. Second, education and training opportunities can themselves become subject to the cultural imperative creating new market genres such as info-tainment , edu-tainment and ed-verts (Kenway et al 1993 and 1994), where learning

opportunities not only service the requirements of consumer society but are part of it. This is witnessed in the increased use of discourses centred on concern for the 'customer' rather than the 'student' or 'client'. In such developments as the introduction of vouchers for education we witness the transfer of a certain form of power, albeit an ambiguous form, to individuals as consumers.

The Changing Face of University Adult Education

As we have noted earlier, modernist rationality is no longer the dominant factor in the learning encounter. In postmodernity, scepticism about metanarratives leads to a scepticism both about the transcendental and universal foundations of knowledge and the claim that certain kinds of knowledge have a canonical status. This scepticism has had paradoxical educational consequences—on the one hand, an erosion of the liberal curriculum and an emphasis on the provision of learning opportunities which optimise the efficiency of the economic system; on the other, a 'decentring' of knowledge with a valuing of different sources and forms of knowledge and a devaluing of specialisation. This has provided spaces for rising social groups such as the 'new middle classes', for new social movements, and for hitherto oppressed and marginalised groups such as women, blacks, gays and ethnic minorities, to find a 'voice' , to articulate their own 'subjugated' knowledges and construct different knowledges, and to engage generally in critical practices. In this situation, education stops being a univocal, predictable 'reality' and consequently, it no longer makes sense to speak of it as either functioning to reproduce the social order or as implicit social engineering, whether this be for domestication or liberation. Thus the binary opposition 'domestication-liberation' itself becomes questionable and loses some of its structuring power.

Educational discourses, forms and practices have played a significant and powerful role in the maintenance and legitimation of modernity. They have been the means of transmitting modernity's message of 'progress', of mastering the world in the cause of human betterment through objective knowledge and scientific rationality. Unhappily, one of the consequences of this has been a suppression of the 'other', the radically different, and the implicit acceptance of a Western white, male middle-class norm. A significant aspect therefore of the current educational crisis is that education's commitment to modernity is now increasingly challenged. With this challenge comes a questioning of the modernist educational project with its pre defined ends and planned curricula as the best means to achieve these ends.

The postmodern emphasis on ephemerality, fragmentation and re-invention links with notions of a democratic education and education for democracy—the taking into account, without suppressing difference, of a diverse range of interests within the social formation. It is precisely the instability introduced by cultural change that provides a means of challenging dominant values and norms of knowledge. By undermining the certainty surrounding canons of knowledge, universal 'messages' and the efficacy of 'enlightened pedagogues', opportunities are presented for diversity and for new and innovative practices. For those with a commitment to the field's role in addressing inequality and oppression, contemporary uncertainty is both a condition for and an outcome of rethinking the challenge of marginalisations in a situation of new and multiple forms of lifelong learning.

Educational forms, including those of adult education, are increasingly becoming more diverse in terms of goals, processes, organisational structures, curricula, pedagogy and participants. This both reflects and contributes to the increasing impact of 'de-differentiation'. It also attests to the significance of reconceptualising adult education as 'adult learning'. De-differentiation implies a breakdown of clear demarcations between different sectors of education and between education and cognate fields. Consequently, education need not be so narrowly construed nor can any formally constituted field of education claim a monopoly since potentially any activity in any context could claim to involve learning and hence be deemed 'educational'. This links with 'adult learning', a reconceptualisation that foregrounds the simultaneous boundlessness (i.e. not confined to pre-defined outcomes or formal institutions) **and** sociocultural contextuality of learning. To think in these terms rather than in terms of 'adult education' is to affirm the significant place of **learners** as against the institutional form or the discursive tradition, and to position adult education

as part of the moorland of learning rather than as an all-embracing field.

The notion that educational discourses, forms and practices have to be shaped by a set of invariant and universal norms and goals is now giving way to the recognition that these are dynamically implicated in diverse cultural contexts. Thus instead of everything being delimited and reduced to the 'same' e.g. to liberal adult education, to experiential learning, to education for liberation, to the creation of the rational, goal- directed individual, the trend is becoming one where educational forms are seen instead as expressing 'difference' in their diversity and providing spaces for a diversity of 'voices'. Equally, education escapes the boundaries traditionally delimiting it from the wider social formation and dividing it within itself. Of course, we would not wish to downplay the power of performativity or the dangers of reconstituting the formal provision of education and training purely as a business whose main task is marketing. Nor would we claim that the educational aspect of lifestyle practices is always oppositional and liberatory. However, it is equally important not to downplay the significance of the increasing diversity, multiplicity and de-differentiation which characterises the contemporary landscape of education, nor the reconfiguring of adult learning opportunities to satisfy the desires of consumers of learning.

New forms of provision and delivery, as well as new learners, are already beginning to change the contemporary face of adult education. The most significant of these is open and distance learning (ODL) where the postmodern phenomenon of space-time compression has meant that learners and providers become increasingly available to each other on a global scale. ODL provides a ready means for satisfying the diverse desires of a more diverse range of adult learners. Without the necessity for attendance at specific places of learning at specific times, the relationship between learning, face-to-face interaction and pre-planned curricula is fractured — in the process foregrounding the **learner** as against the provider and the pedagogue. For adult educators, ODL poses at the very least the need to re-evaluate the ways in which learners are engaged. With the proliferation of media and information technology and given the fact that computers are not simply 'books without covers', it may well be that future cohorts will not be addressed primarily through the literacy of the spoken word and written text but through the computer and media literacy of information and image.

For many university-based adult educators it is precisely these trends towards diversity and multiplicity manifested in performativity, vocationalism, individualism, the market, and lifestyle practices that is to be bemoaned as undermining the seriousness of adult education's intent and the possibilities of an emancipatory project. However, this not only ignores the significance of the massive increases in participation by adults in diverse settings and diverse forms of learning that are currently taking place, it could also be argued that adult educators are being unreflexive about the role of the university in sustaining the inequalities and exclusions of modernity.

This is due in large part to the modernist discourses, forms and practices of the university within which adult educators are located and which shape their theorisations, goals and practices. Gore (1993) argues that all pedagogies whether liberal or radical are framed within modernist 'regimes of truth' articulated in terms of universal macro-level explanations and centred on conceptions of teleological progress and goal-directed rational selves. In other words, from the perspective of these 'regimes' much of the learning engaged in by adults can only be considered by university-based adult educators as either **anti**-educational and therefore something to be deplored as contrary to the 'true spirit' of adult education, or as **un**-educational and therefore beneath their concerns. Thus rather than critically embracing the diverse groups of learners, new sites of learning and new forms and contents of learning, many university-based adult educators seem to only want to engage in nostalgic regret for the loss of previously privileged if marginalised sites of adult education. Against this, we would want to argue that this only serves to increase the marginality of adult education even as adult learning in all its various manifestations is given greater prominence. Adult educators need to recognise the significance of partial perspectives rather than striving for all-embracing knowledge and universal 'messages'—a need to be 'both more modest about the autonomous contribution [they] can make to social problems and less convinced of a role as the messenger for all-

embracing liberating ideologies' (Jansen and van der Veen 1992: 285).

The implication of these trends for the formation and training of adult educators remains both problematic and only hazily discernible at this point. It seems likely that the academic curriculum will be increasingly, although not entirely, displaced in the light of the greater emphasis on performativity. At the same time, the decline of metanarratives and the greater significance of localised and particularised knowledges may require a formation that develops skills of working with difference and desire in a variety of sites and modes of provision with a diversity of learners, and that enables adult educators to be 'commentators' rather than 'legislators', interpreters rather than 'enlightened pedagogues', cultural workers rather than Enlightenment 'missionaries', explorers rather than preservers of tradition.

In this time of transition and uncertainty it does seem to be the case that the increasing diversity of adult learners is paralleled by the increasing diversity of students attending courses for adult educators. Some see this as problematic, as a 'watering-down' rather than an enrichment of the learning environment. The demands for greater professional competence and adaptability tend to be constructed as a loss of social purpose and threat to a critical and emancipatory engagement rather than a legitimate response to changing times and changing conditions. As the boundaries of adult education become problematic, the defensive concern over adult education as a bounded field or even profession under threat begins to look increasingly misplaced as the focus shifts to practitioners working 'professionally' with adults whoever and wherever they may be.

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"OUR WAYS"

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At Harvard University, there is a person named George Elliott. Harvard names buildings after him. Apparently, he is an important person. He made an important statement in which he said, "It depends on where you sit as to what you see." As First Nations[1] peoples, we have similar analogies. I'm reminded of a story shared by this brilliant Blackfoot elder—George Good Striker (Good Striker, 1990). He shared how these two Blackfoot men were taken to jail because of drinking. They came before the Queen's Bench, and the judge asked the Blackfoot man, "Sir, could you tell me where you are from?" The Blackfoot man felt rather nervous, tense, afraid of the aura of authority of the Queen's bench. He shuffled his feet, rubbed his hands together, put his head down. He said, "Your honour, I come from the trees, I come from the grass, I come from the water, I come from the mountains. I come from the berries." At this point, the judge slammed his gavel down, and sternly said, "Next!" The second Native man stood up. The judge looked very authoritatively at the second Native man and said, "I want you to tell me in three words, where you are from?" The Native man felt extremely nervous about how to respond. He shuffled his feet from side to side, rubbed his hands together, put his head down, looked at his colleague. Finally, he said, "I'm his neighbour." So, you see, it does depend on where you sit as to what you see.

Another incident which illustrates this difference happened when a Dene elder was asked to address a national feminist organization. The president of the organization approached the elder and specifically requested that she address why First Nations women continued to perpetuate a sense of inequity by continually walking two steps behind their men. The Dene elder respectfully listened to the president. She acknowledged that she would address the issue. When the Dene elder got up to speak, she repeated the request made by their President. Her response was, "Did it ever occur to you that we were telling our men where to go?" So you see, it does depend on where you sit as to what you see!

There is a resiliency among First Peoples of North America. What is it that has enabled First Peoples to survive the 500 year blizzard that faced these peoples through residential schools, sexual, physical, emotional, mental and spiritual abuse, federal policies, termination, disease and warfare? It is their own world view, their philosophical foundation, their ways of knowing and being, their oral tradition, their voice.

When I think about what has enabled First Nations peoples to have survived over the past 500 years, I think about what my Dad used to always say. He said, "As Indians, we never give up!" As I journeyed through my education experience, I always sought the perfect theory to explain this phenomenon. I always felt that the academy would have the proper answers.

What I did not understand was that the academy was established by a culture, a group, a tribe - that was not indigenous to this land. These institutions were established according to theories that were, in a sense, successful for a society that was organized around a way of life that held its roots in a foreign land. Some theorists in anthropology have held that their analysis of how First Nations people behave is the proper way to make sense of who we are. Theorists in colonial and western history (N. Hundley, 1982) have documented fur traders, missionaries' stories as the proper and acceptable documentation to substantiate their theoretical frameworks. In so doing, they claim that their methodology is one that

has contributed to a better understanding of First Nations people.

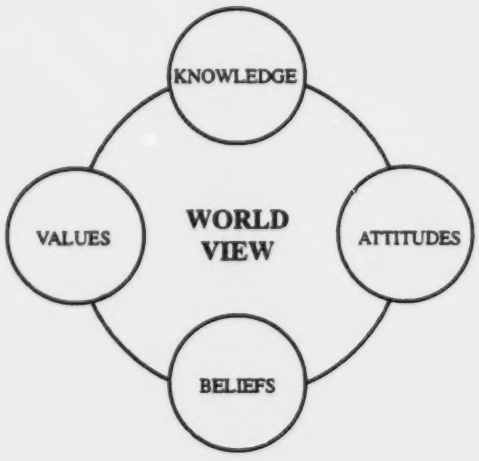
When one measures success of First Nations peoples in the academy, implicit in this measurement is the understanding and acceptance of the rules of the academy. Thus, success then becomes the foundation of this understanding, acceptance, and embracing of the rules of the academy. Again, these rules hold their roots in foreign land. While these roots have served to disempower First Nations peoples, there are some important lessons to be learned from these experiences. For example, when one examines Sigmund Freud's theory in psychology with regard to how he defines mental illness and/or abnormal behaviour, he uses indices such as hallucination, seeing things, hearing voices. First Nations peoples find that Freud's theory clashes with First Nations beliefs in that First Peoples see communicating with spirit helpers as a central vehicle for achieving harmonious balance. Further, it is not uncommon, in a healing sweat lodge, for spirits to come in and show themselves to the people through blinking lights, glowing lights (J. Stiffarm, 1994). According to Freud's theory in terms of how he defines normalcy, if Native people were to tell a psychologist who subscribes to Freud's theory, that she was seeing lights and hearing voices, the psychologist would place the Native person in a straight jacket and hospitalize the person.

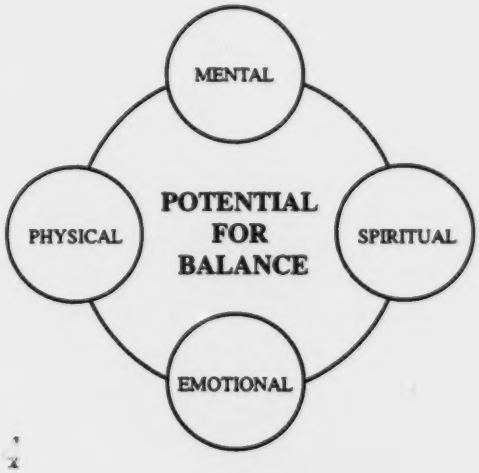
As a way of further illustrating how world view as a philosophical foundation clashes, the following illustration will serve as a foundation for this discussion. World view in the context of this discussion will be defined as having features of knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and values.

One of the significant foundations of world view is embedded in symbols. Many First Nations, Bands, Tribes have a strong foundation of symbols. For example, several years ago, I was flying to Winnipeg, Manitoba, to give a talk with the Assembly of First Nations. I was honoured to sit next to a very stunning First Nations gentleman who was a Haida Band member from Vancouver Island, British Columbia. This gentleman was wearing a beautiful choker around his neck. On this choker was an eagle. After I complimented him on his impressive choker, he shared some extremely important teachings which illustrated all that the choker represented. He shared that the eagle represented how and with whom he interacted in terms of who he could marry and/or date. It also determined his social, political and economic relationships. It clearly determined his position in the spiritual circle as well. Cajette reinforces this experience in *Look To the Mountain:*

> The expressions of American Indian Education (which) reflect traits shared by the Indigenous cultures of the world. They are expressions of the ancestral Tribal roots of all of the families—the extended family, the clan and tribe provided the context and source for teaching. In this way, every situation provided a potential opportunity for learning, and basic education was not separated from the natural, social, or spiritual aspects of everyday life. Living and learning were fully integrated. (Cajette, p. 33, 1994)

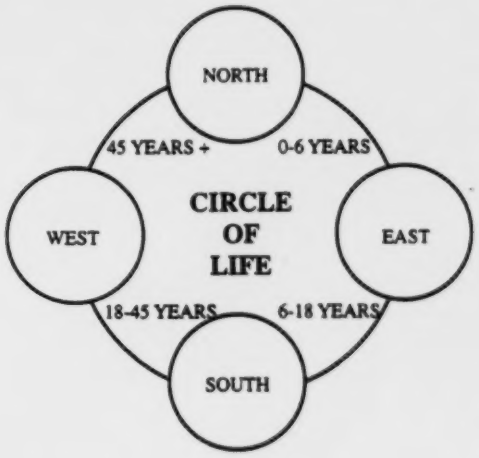
Another critical element of aboriginal world view is creating a potential for balance. This potential is expressed as follows:





When First Nations people articulate potential for balance, it is actualized in a "holistic" way of expression. That is, it is expressed as spiritual, emotional, physical and mental. The goal is to move towards living a balanced life, not one of perfection. I am reminded of an experience recently when I went to the health club to work out. I saw the most incredibly buffed man with great "gluts", clearly defined biceps, bulging quadriceps. Of course, I went to greet him and to develop a conversation with him. However, there was nothing "upstairs". In other words, he had overdeveloped the physical dimension of his potential. If one were to make an analogy, he would have overdeveloped his physical potential and not developed his other dimensions of potential. His wheel of life would be grossly imbalanced by the physical part of the circle.

Another way of exploring the potential for balance within our lives is to utilize this same circle as our circle of life. This circle would express itself as 0-6 years of age and would be located in the northeast section of the wheel; 6-18 years of age would be located in the southeast section of the wheel; 18-45 years of age would be located in the southwest section of the wheel; and 45 until we go to the other side would be expressed in the northwest section of the wheel. Each of these sections would represent a balance in terms of how one relates to other members of the circle of life wheel. Following is an illustration:



In Ella Deloria's book, Waterlily, she eloquently expresses the relationships among family members, relationships within the camp circle as well as relationships with visitors. For example, in one part of Deloria's recounting, Waterlily's mother, Blue Bird, took her children for a walk. Waterlily asked,

> "Mother, tell us a story." And so Blue Bird told them—the same little stories long familiar but always welcome—
>
> In due time the children, who had wriggled about into a more comfortable position against their mother, were sound asleep, their heads on her lap. She gazed on them tenderly as she wiped their flushed faces damp along the hairline—" lap full of babies—what more should a woman want?"[2]

As the family walked back to their camp, Blue Bird,

> —carried the baby while the two older ones walked ahead. Suddenly Waterlily turned back to her and said, "Mother, this was such fun! Can we go walking with you again—often?"
>
> Waterlily went everywhere with her grandmother, Gloku, and her aunts and others, and always it was very pleasant—but now—she had found her preference, her own mother, who could play games and talk about many things that were perplexing, clearing them away. She would stay close to her from now on—for very soon she would be needing more guidance through the extraordinary days of adolescence that were not too far off.[3]

Different First Nations peoples and different Bands and Tribes follow a **similar but distinct** protocol in terms of how relationships are formed, fostered, and followed in given First Nations societies. On the Six Nations Reserve in Ohsweken, Ontario, Canada, their circle of life goes in a counter clockwise manner. With the Atsina Tribe at the Fort Belknap Reserve in Montana, USA, their circle of life goes in a clockwise manner. With the Nakota Band in Saskatchewan, only the Contrary Society follows the counter clockwise protocol. So one can see that while there is a similar "holistic" way of perceiving a circle of life, protocol varies depending on Nation, Band, Tribe of which one is a part.

In conversation with Wendy Martin (1995) of the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, she eloquently stated that "protectiveness" is a value that has sustained her

people. In the same manner in which protectiveness has sustained her people, it has also served as a barrier to traditions being passed on. In the late 1800s and the 1900s, federal policies in both Canada and the United States made the practicing of our ways—ceremonies—illegal. In so doing, the keepers of these traditions continued to practice our ways but became very protective in terms of with whom these ways would be shared. Consequently, today, the faith keepers—keepers of the great laws of the Mohawk people—are still reluctant to share their knowledge. This situation is exacerbated by many Mohawk people not knowing the Mohawk language because of their forced attendance at residential schools - another federal policy imposed by the government. It is this fragile and delicate tension that persists which creates an overwhelming challenge to sustain our ways through creatively developing a trusting and respectful relationship with the faith keepers.

In today's society, large numbers of First Nations peoples are attending post secondary institutions to obtain undergraduate and graduate degrees. Professor Dave Risling shared one of the most inspirational comments at the national dialogue gathering with The College Board. He said, "After our young people finish their schooling, the debriefing begins and their real **education** starts." I never understood what this meant until I actively began my teaching career in post secondary institutions. For example, most recently, I was meeting with colleagues from the Biology, Chemistry, and Physics disciplines. We were discussing how a "culturally appropriate" curriculum might be structured to be culturally responsive to teacher candidates in northern Saskatchewan. One scholar in passing said, "How could First Nations people ever see anything significant in a rock?" I was overwhelmed by this since I vividly recall the teachings of the sweat lodge from the renowned Blackfoot Elder George Good Striker, where he distinctly shared the importance of the rock. He said,

> The rock is our home. As part of the human family, we all aspire to be strong like the rock. We see the rock as our home fire. This rock is strong. It holds the heat of the sweat lodge just like the warmth of love and respect in our homes keeps our home fires burning. The rock has an important message for us. It cries, "Where is my home? Where is my home?" The Creator responds, "Here is your home. Here is your home. It is in the centre of the lodge." The rock is also the home of our pipe bowls for our pipes. It is an extremely important spirit to us.

So when I hear statements such as the one about First Nations people not having any relationship to the rock, it seems to me that it exemplifies a history of contradictions and world view clashes.

As adult educators, when one thinks about, "How can I make this information relevant to adult learners in my community, in my camp?", I challenge you to place yourself in the circle of life and explore your inter-connectedness to the rest of the circle. Place yourself in the potential for balance circle, and explore how you can relate to the other parts of the circle. Place yourself in the different sections of the world view circle and explore how knowledge is connected to attitudes, beliefs and values. Contradictions of world view of First Nations peoples that clash with western world view is exemplified in aboriginal epistemology. "The year 1492 marked the first meeting of two disparate world views, each on its own uncharted course of exploration and discovery for purposeful knowledge." (Ermine, 1995). Ermine further points this out by indicating that one was concerned with the physical, and the other was concerned with the metaphysical. As adult educators, keep this in mind when exploring pedagogy, epistemology, and world view. It is the very foundation of the assumptions of "Our Ways" that often times is loaded with values that clash.

When I asked two elders from the Fort Belknap Reserve in Montana, "What has kept our families, our communities, our Tribes together throughout this 500 year blizzard?" Their response is "Our beliefs, our ways, our values, our knowledge, our ceremonies. Everything that we do is a ceremony."

So today, in closing, I want to thank you for allowing me to be a small part of this sacred ceremony of the International Conference on Adult Education." A-ho!

Activity

To illustrate how adult education fits within the

circle of life, have all members sit within a circle. The facilitator will sit to the north. Drawing upon the circle of life diagram, have the people in the 0-6; 6-18; 45+ years tell the group (in a brainstorming context) in the 18-45 quadrant what they need from them. Give each group a sheet of paper. Each group will list what these needs are, then have the groups prioritize these needs. Present them to the 18-45 group and have this group analyze the needs, translate these needs into the world view framework (listed on page 5), rank these needs, and establish their adult education program. Note that each community/ group will have a different way of designing their program based upon the needs. Debrief.

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[1] First Nations is a term used by many people in Canada to designate the aboriginal people. First denotes primacy, Nation indicates that the people were organized into social, political, and economic groups with distinct cultures and languages and lands, and the plural form notes the diversity of these groups. This term was a result of the National Indian Brotherhood, which is now renamed as the Assembly of First Nations. Throughout this text, First Peoples, Indians, Native are also used interchangeably to describe the indigenous peoples of North America. (Haig-Brown, 1995)

[2] Deloria, Ella Cara. Waterlily. University of Nebraska Press. Lincoln and London. pp. 82-83. 1988.

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WAYS OF TALKING ABOUT KNOWLEDGE IN NIU ACE DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS EPISTEMOLOGY AND THE FUTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION

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Talmadge Guy, in his dissertation on Alain Locke, asserts that "adult education ought to be understood in terms of its complexity and richness rather than in terms of its essence or mainline themes" (1993, 6). The goal of this paper is to contribute to a rich adult education by contributing to the construction of a rich epistemology.

208 doctoral dissertations were produced in Adult and Continuing Education at Northern Illinois University from 1974 through 1993, according to UMI's dissertation abstracts database. This paper summarizes the results of two studies I carried out fall semester of 1994 using this database as the starting point. Both studies addressed the same question, Have the doctoral dissertations written at NIU in the ACE program enriched the epistemological discourse of adult education significantly?

There are no abstracts for the first eleven dissertations, produced between 1974 and 1980. Thus the primary evidence for what follows consists of abstracts for 197 dissertations. Supplementing the abstracts, I read in their entirety fourteen dissertations (Collins, 1980; Ilsley, 1982; Murphy, 1986; Quigley, 1987; Colin, 1989; Golbedale, 1991; Hawking, 1991; Schied, 1991; Davis, 1992; Sheared, 1992; Stokes, 1992; Braden, 1993; Guy, 1993; LaPaglia, 1993); LaPaglia, 1993), parts of several others, and articles published by the authors of five of the dissertations which summarized their findings.

Behind the query after a rich epistemology are at least the following four assumptions: (1) that one dimension of change global society is going through today, a dimension of vital significance for adult education, is epistemological; (2) that adult education requires a richer epistemological self-understanding to live up to its mission; (3) that adult education has much to learn from outside sources; (4) and that adult education has, as well, something significant to contribute to a rich epistemology.

Adult education has something significant to contribute from its angle of vision on the **practices** of instruction and learning, which are epistemic processes, significant forms of knowledge in motion. More specifically, the assumption that the NIU program specifically would be worth investigating was based on its aggressive outreach program to urban, rural, suburban and international communities as an expression of its commitment to epistemological diversity (Cunningham and Smith, 1994).

The purpose of the studies was constructive, that is, to contribute to a richer epistemology to undergird adult education theory, policy and practice. Given this starting perspective I defined operationally what I meant by a "rich" epistemology at the outset. I proposed seven criteria.

The first criterion was simply whether or not what is meant by knowledge and knowing is taken for granted. Dissertations which thematize ways of talking about knowledge and knowing explicitly were selected for closer attention.

A second criterion of richness has to do with the extent to which attention is paid to **knowing as process**, the extent to which the content of knowing is embedded in concrete processes of knowing. One might expect that adult education, with its emphasis on learning, experience, and practice, would be especially sensitive to this aspect of knowledge. Yet by and large, as an organized academic enterprise, adult education has followed the mainstream paradigm which tends to abstract knowledge from knower, content from lived processes of knowing. A major exception to this generalization is the emphasis on technical processes of learning and knowing.

A third criterion of richness is diversity; of perspective, population, language, content, but especially diversity as regards ways of knowing and aspects of knowing, such as its quality or "texture." There appears to be a correlation between this and the next criterion which has to do with the relationship between knowledge and power. Where the interrelationship between knowledge and power is recognized and addressed explicitly there seems to be a greater openness to varieties of epistemology.

A fourth criterion, as noted, is whether a **relationship between knowledge and power** is recognized. While I am firmly committed to the liberatory intent which originally gave birth to the pursuit of scientific objectivity I am equally committed to the view that in a society where science has become the established way of knowing the interactions between knowledge and power require explicit attention by a responsible epistemology. Dissertations which deal with policy, politics, power, hegemony received special attention based on this criterion.

A fifth criterion is the extent to which the **societal context** of adult education and learning was explicitly identified. I believe that adult education as an organized enterprise must understand its role in societal terms and therefore must be grounded in a social theory of education and learning. This, in turn, requires a societal epistemology, that is, an understanding of knowledge and knowing that recognizes its political, economic, cultural, ethnic, gender, and class contexts. Conversely, I believe that a rich epistemology is only possible if it is societal, rather than individual.

A sixth criterion is the extent to which the whole range of human experience and personhood is recognized at all, first of all, and then is recognized as having "cognitive" or epistemological relevance. This criterion involves attention to themes such as feelings, attitudes, spirituality, the self, identity, individuality, personhood, interiority, as well as concepts such as self-understanding, self-esteem, self-respect, self-direction, reflection, subjectivity. It was assumed that the use of the phenomenological method and ethnography would be a major source of contributions in this respect, and therefore special attention was made to studies drawing on these approaches. At least twenty dissertations were identified that explicitly made use of phenomenological methods.

A seventh criterion has to do with the extent to which the previous themes, explicit questioning of taken-for-granted assumptions about knowledge and knowing, attention to epistemic processes, diversity, knowledge and power, societal context, the whole of personhood, were integrated. To what extent is identity viewed in relation to the societal contexts of culture, power, class, gender? To what extent do studies of power and societal contexts take into account the rich and complex dimensions of subjects?

Explicit Attention to Epistemological Themes

The term "epistemology" does not appear in the abstracts until 1991. Thereafter it appears only twice. I believe it is significant that both occurrences are in dissertations by women, a 1991 study of "the epistemological development of family therapists" by Scheffner, and a 1992 study of Federal welfare/ workfare policy making by Vanessa Sheared based in part on an "Acrocentric feminist epistemology." Scheffner is explicitly interested in the "unofficial body of knowledge," the "unacknowledged foundations" of therapy. Her definition of epistemology is highly personal. The role of Sheared's alternative epistemology is to communicate an oppositional world view to the dominant group and to construct a mode of seeing to sustain an alternative sense of self on the part of a marginalized population.

A wealth of epistemological themes appears in the abstracts. For example, Schlachter (1991) draws on "narrative knowing" in her study of national policy affecting education for older adults. LaPaglia (1993) makes use of "stories" in her study of the image of the community college. Dortch (1993) talks of the "inner and outer voice." Other themes include ideology, myth, illusion, consciousness, silencing, invisibility, legitimization, discourse, knowledge producers, subjectivity. These and other themes are best considered as we consider each of the richness criteria in turn.

Every dissertation contains an implicit view of knowledge since a dissertation by definition is considered to be a contribution to 'knowledge' in some sense. This paper has not attempted to identify the indirect epistemologies expressed in the abstracts,

knowledge as practice or competency (how-to knowledge), knowledge as theory, knowledge as predictive power, knowledge as language, as empowerment, as public policy, as self-understanding, with one exception. On the basis of the asbtracts it is possible to estimate that in the first ten years of the program (1974-83), 60% of the dissertations can be characterized as quantitative (25 out of 42), whereas in the second ten years (1984-93) that number dropped to 31% (51 out of 164).

Knowing as Process

One could take learning as a knowing process and consider dissertations such as Isaacson's study (1987) of cognitive learning processes, Canan's study (1990) of intentional learning processes, or Keir's study (1991) of learning how to teach under this heading. However, unless a study explicitly addresses the connection between learning and knowing, it tends to reinforce a prevailing dissociation between the study of learning and the study of what we mean by knowledge and knowing, and hence tends to leave in place dominant epistemologies.

The most important contribution to an understanding of knowing as process is Collins's dissertation (1980), a phenomenological inquiry into competence which makes use of Schutz's theory of relevance. Collins challenged a banking epistemology on the basis of the idea that knowledge cannot be separated from the intentional projects or actions of an agent. We are active agents in the construction of our life-worlds. Our relationship to our life-world is not one-way. We are born into it and it shapes and forms us. But we in turn act back upon it and form it through our selection of purposes, our choice of projects or projections upon it, through our actions and interpretations. Theorizing, doing philosophy, knowledge and learning processes cannot be separated off sharply from everyday living. "Knowing and action are not separate events" (p. 260).

Diversity

Diversity is one of the primary characteristics studied by Cunningham and Smith in their report on the program. They note that recruitment of students of color started at the beginning of the program and call attention to the emphasis in the international program on students from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean or Latin America. They also point to the ways in which students have had an impact on the program. They note that gender and race in particular and at times social class as "constructed privilege" appeared as overt topics in over one third of all courses taught in 1993.

Of particular relevance is their observation that "[t]he diversity in the student body has caused changes in the doctoral research being done" (112). They note that in the first five years of the program 64% of the dissertations were about learning or institutional analysis. In the next five years these two topics, together with continuing professional education account for 58%, whereas in the last four years (90-93), the three topics together were down to only 22% whereas new topics that appeared included racial and ethnic concerns (19%), feminism (5%), and "internal analyses of personal phenomena (5%).

The shifts in content were accompanied by shifts in methodology and perspective. Cunningham and Smith found that most of the dissertations done in the first five years were in a logical positivistic paradigm. By contrast, "Afrocentrism" informs six of the dissertations done more recently. As we have seen already in the case of Sheared's dissertation, this shift in perspective has been accompanied by explicit attention to epistemology.

One of the fundamental objectives of what I am calling a rich epistemology is that it incorporate, as a principle of continuing self-criticism, an explicit awareness of the blindness that accompanies every way of seeing. If we accept for the moment Kuhn's metaphor comparing paradigms to gestalt images, then it is clear that seeing from one paradigm means not seeing what is visible from another. This means that we need **others,** who see from different positions, if we are to grow beyond ourselves. And this means diversity.

Knowledge and Power

Cornel West says that "there is a danger in reducing the talk about knowledge solely to a talk about power, just as there's a danger in talking about

knowledge as if it's not linked to power" (West, 1993, 123).

Prior to 1982 the words "power" and "politics" do not appear in any of the abstracts. "Power" appears several times thereafter with the meaning of personal empowerment (Ross 1985, Wagner 1989, Canan 1990, Scheffner 1991) and once in reference to statistical power (Dimmock, 1985). The word "hegemony" appears first in the abstracts in 1987 (Quigley), again in 1989 (Coffman), 1990 (Chapman), and 1992 (Pickens). This sort of word study suggests that there has been an increase in dissertations which address political topics. A closer examination of each abstract supports this conclusion.

Since 1987 there have been several dissertations on political topics, including additional studies on the theme of resistance, professionalization and mandated continuing professional education, the role of adult education in social change, policy studies in education, the role of adult education in political movements, worker education, empowerment strategies of professional African-Americans, development in Third World countries.

While all of these studies indirectly address the issue of knowledge and power, two dissertations which focus on knowledge and power in an explicit way are Murphy's 1986 study of resistance in the professions, and Quigley's study of non-participation in ABE (1987). Both adopt an explicitly sociological approach. Both make use of Giroux's theory of resistance which is based on Gramsci's concept of counter-hegemony. Both also make use of phenomenology.

Another way of addressing the relationship between power and knowledge has been to call attention to what Cunningham and Smith refer to as "the structured silences in adult education history on contributions to and participation of marginalized groups in adult education." Schied, in his study of German worker education in the nineteenth century, calls attention to the political role of definition. "The professional field," he points out, "has defined out some forms of adult education while including others" (Schied, 1993, xii). The political role of "history" is also explicitly expressed in his statement that "denial of past experiences is one of the central ways in which the dominant society limits the possibility of change" (Ibid).

Pickens's 1992 study of African-American consciousness is important for several reasons. First, it investigates how African Americans use their "bicultural traditions—African and European—to create their version of reality." She calls for policy makers to "lift the veil and open up the mainstream to acknowledge knowledge produced by black female and male scholars." Second, it recognizes the politically charged character of culture and therefore its "counter hegemonic" potential. Finally it calls for "legitimizing literature" in multi-ethnic education. Multi-ethnic education is recognized as counter-hegemonic. Pickens's notion of bicultural tradition should be compared to Shaw's 1992 study of professional African-Americans, which identifies African Americans' **"two ways of knowing"** as a factor that may account for their empowerment.

Societal Context

All of the dissertations addressing the interrelationship between knowledge and power also address the societal, collective context of adult education, some more explicitly than others. Courtney's 1984 study of participation is one of the most explicit.

The importance of **cultural context** is powerfully exhibited in two studies, Colin's study of Marcus Garvey and Guy's study of Alain Locke. Colin argues that Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association was first and foremost an adult educational movement, one which was committed to the construction of an alternative **culture**.

In the case of Locke, the priority assigned to culture is equally clear. Locke's conception of adult education is "cultural education," by which Locke meant "popular" not "elite" culture. "Real, essential culture," he said, "is baked into our daily bread or else it isn't truly culture." (87). Second, culture was not to be separated from politics and power. Culture was a means of social change. At the First Conference on Negro Adult Education, in 1938, held at Hampton Institute, Locke emphasized education for "political competence." He understood that "minority" status is a matter of cultural domination, not mere numbers (193).

Third, his emphasis on culture is an expression of concern over technicism. He saw the culture of

everyday life threatened by a "cultural crisis" of technicism, that is, the increasing distance between the requirements of daily life and the formal demands of education as a requirement for successful economic and political life (198). He was opposed to "specialized knowledge" separated from the routine of everyday life (197). This theme is developed in the context of a critique of science as a mediator of social relationships as this was expressed in the progressive education movement which emphasized the development of critical thinking skills as a means of achieving successful living. "Patently anti-technicist," according to Guy (199), he called for the restoration of "the normative element in education" (200).

We will come back to both Guy in the next section to look at the other side of his emphasis on culture, that is, his treatment of self.

The Whole Person

A number of dissertations are directed against one or another form of reductionism, including many of those which draw on phenomenology (at least 20 dissertations), ethnography, and other forms of qualitative research.

One surprise is that there is not more reference to Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation. Only two abstracts, Williams (1985) and Lytle (1989) make such a reference. A closer look at the actual text of the dissertations would, undoubtedly, reveal numerous citations and perhaps discussion of Mezirow. Guy, for example, in his conclusion links Locke's ideas regarding cultural commensurability and inter-cultural learning to Mezirow's transformative learning (218).

I want to focus attention on what I would describe as reductionist individualism. This may sound, at first glance, like a contradiction in terms. Individualism, after all, is championed **against** collectivist reductionisms of all kinds. But what is meant by individualism or the individual is socially and historically constructed and can and does change as the context changes. I would argue that "individualism" has itself become reductionist in much of contemporary discourse. It has become reductionist to the extent that it abstracts individuality from context. "The" individual becomes a universal concept that in fact reflects some particular actual, contextualized class of individuals, some particular gender, or ethnic, national, or racial group, and therefore renders **other** individuals invisible.

There is no question that studies which challenge the dogmas of positivism, objectivism, and rationalism both by focusing on the whole self (including feelings, spirit, attitudes, interiority) as an 'object' of knowing (reflexive knowing, self understanding) and as a source of valid knowledge (subjectivity, intuition, etc.) make an important contribution. However, the fundamental question here is the extent to which the person, the self, the individual is treated in abstraction from context, be it cultural, social, political, economic.

I take the position that only an approach that starts from 'context,' from the **positioned** subject, can do justice to the full reality of individuality and personhood. The dissertations by Colin and Guy, cited already, support this approach. I want to return to Guy on Locke with this particular issue in mind.

Locke approached self-understanding, self-knowledge, in terms of culture. His view that adult education "should foster a stronger sense of one's own cultural identity as well as the place of one's culture within the larger society" distinguished his position from that of Dewey and Kallen, for whom, for example, "the alternative to individualism is death" (112). (203).

He developed his views on the individual in the context of his theory of cultural pluralism. He called for "a basic reconfiguration of American individualism." (195). The problem is to promote a form of group pride that does not generate ethnocentric conceit (206). He took a dialectical approach that required change on the part of the majority and the minority. "As long as one group remains dominant—in terms of status and power rather than numbers—the fundamental social situation will not change. Cultural pluralism as a philosophy must recognize the fundamental problem of group relations as a societal rather than individual issue" (208).
There are two issues that need to be distinguished surrounding the concepts of self, person, identity, individuality. One is the issue of validating the whole person in relation to "interiority." The other is the

issue of validating the whole person in relation to contexts. Both are epistemologically significant since both have to do with what it means to know oneself as a person and what it means to know other persons. While both Colin and Guy have, in their respective interpretations of Garvey and Locke, addressed these issues by insisting that understanding of self cannot be separated from understanding society, there is more that needs to be done towards "a basic reconfiguration of American individualism."

In connection with the criterion of 'the whole person,' the second study I undertook was to take a closer look at the dissertations that drew on phenomenology. Of these the concept of the life-world in Michael Collins's dissertation, already mentioned in connection with the criterion of process, calls for further comment. Related to life-world is the concept of the sedimented "stock of knowledge." Both concepts are closely related to the idea of culture. All three undermine the subject-object split. All three introduce concepts of quality, "texture," and motion to epistemology. All three can be used to validate degrees of plausibility "from the conviction of certainty through all the modalizations of opinion" (Collins, 204), of degrees of familiarity, ranging from intimate, detailed explicitness to "zones" of vagueness, obscurity, and ambiguity.

Conclusions

At the time that I completed the two studies the point that impressed itself upon me most forcefully was the need for greater attention to culture. The premise of this study was that adult education must challenge one-dimensional, impoverished technicist epistemologies. It seemed to me that a theory of culture, informed by the life-world perspective of phenomenology, is an essential aspect of a rich epistemology.

The concept of culture is not one that has characterized adult education discourse in recent years, though I suspect that is already changing. A glance at the subject index of the 1989 *Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education* yields three references to the theme of culture, two referring to Bourdieu's concept of cultural reproduction (46, 64), one referring to Gramsci's concept of hegemony (56). Culture does not appear in the subject index of Peters and Jarvis's 1991 overview of the field.

Yet the concept of culture as it has been interpreted within the tradition of Gramsci, Raymond Williams, and Giroux, is epistemologically rich because it is a meeting point for knowledge and power, knowledge and knowing processes, on the one hand, and power relations and processes on the other. It is also a meeting point for the personal and the social.

A second conclusion of this study follows from the first. If richer theoretical reflecting on the theme of culture is required for a vital adult education enterprise, then it is time for adult education to take seriously the life work of Raymond Williams as an adult educator. Raymond Williams identified himself as an adult educator, wrote on adult education, was active in workers education for fifteen years, and active in adult education in the media most of his life. He is also considered to be one of the most important writers and thinkers on culture of the twentieth-century. Apart from occasional references to him in the literature, his influence on adult education theory and practice, certainly in the U.S., has been negligible.

Another adult educator who should receive new attention in this light is Alain Locke, whose conception of adult education as "cultural education" has recently been studied in Talmadge Guy's dissertation. Two points may be noted that suggest a fruitful comparison between Locke and Williams. Second, culture was not to be separated from politics and power. Culture was a means of social change. At the First Conference on Negro Adult Education, in 1938, held at Hampton Institute, Locke emphasized education for "political competence."

A third conclusion is that the phenomenological tradition makes several important contributions to the kind of understanding of culture required by a robust adult education.

First, it brings to the study of culture the concept of the "life-world" in the sense of the "everyday" world, the world of taken-for-granted reality. This immediately distinguishes this concept of culture from all partial concepts of elite, or popular, or mainstream, or subjugated cultures, embracing them all and focusing on their commonality as life processes. Second, phenomenology has experimented with a

variety of original ways of breaking through the familiarity of everyday reality in order to see the phenomena of the life-world, the culture in which we live, with fresh wonder, surprise, attention and critical awareness. Thus, a phenomenological approach to culture brings to the word itself a rigorous setting aside of conventional interpretations. Phenomenology's reinstatement of intuition as an indispensable method of description, inquiry, research, reflection, thought is of fundamental importance in countering positivistic approaches to culture, to knowledge, and to learning and education.

Third, phenomenology's emphasis on process, on lived experience, on agency, meaning, intentionality directs attention back from external behavior, techniques, procedures, algorithmic thinking, method, structures to culture as a living, ongoing flow, and thus counters the tendency to see cultures as static, fixed orders.

Reflecting on these two studies four months later, what impresses itself upon me is that they push back the walls and re-enforce the urge to extend the context of adult education. In this sense they pose the question of boundaries and scope and self-definition for adult education in acute fashion.

I come to the conclusion, once again, that the single biggest mistake adult education can make in response to the question of self-definition is to try to fashion itself along disciplinary lines or as another academic field with its own distinctive content. Such a mistake invites itself to happen for survival reasons. It is the reigning academic paradigm. But adult education, I conclude, only makes sense if it is synthetic, integrative, hybrid, if its perspective is societal. Learning is "a dimension of life, like spirituality, relationships, or aesthetic sensibility" (Papert, 132). Learning is a dimension of societal processes. Understandings of learning abstracted from context are useful, important, but partial and require reintegrative effort.

How then can adult education define itself if it is cross-disciplinary, integrative, synthetic, if its context is coextensive with society? How does it avoid dissolving itself out of existence as a 'dimension' of other fields or disciplines?

Relevant to this question is another phenomenon of our times. As the information explosion continues the need grows apace for perspective, wisdom, judgment, the ability to select, to choose, to filter, to exclude out, to discover what is missing, what is silenced, what is covered over by the information floods, what we are being blinded to by the blazing sun of information.

We are "awash in a sea of content often struggling to make sense of the world around us," to quote a *Chicago Tribune* article on the media from April 9, 1995. Adult education does not really need to engage, necessarily, in more "research," if what is meant is the production of more facts. It needs to take to itself the advice of Paul Saffo, director of the Institute for the Future, advice he gave to newspaper editors: "You say you're in the content business, but you're really in the context business."

Context, perspective, is precisely what has been **excluded** from a traditional disciplinary approach to knowing.The challenge for adult education is to engage concurrently in two efforts that seem to be contradictory, that seem to cancel each other out; to extend the boundaries of its context out as far as possible, and, at the same time, to focus more sharply than ever.

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THE 'WHY' FACTORS IN THE TRAINING OF ADULT EDUCATORS

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When civil dudgeon first grew high
And men fell out they knew not why

-Samuel Butler, ***'Hudibras'***

Autobiographies

Any paper such as this which discusses the training of adult educators is of necessity influenced by the cultural environment within which both this training takes place and the trainers themselves were 'trained'. To set the scene for this paper which is located in the British experience, this section briefly explains how the two presenters came to be adult educators as an illustration of how many British adult educators are trained pragmatically rather than theoretically.

One of us was recently interviewed by a team of Canadian researchers who wanted to know which adult education gurus had most influenced him. This question profoundly misunderstands the nature of adult education 'training' in Britain, which is very different to that of many North American adult educators. After obtaining a history degree at the age of 24, this British adult educator went straight into a full-time job organising workers' education and teaching history or anything else that would recruit sufficient students. Apart from one week's residential induction course at Oxford, there was no training as such: it was all experiential. Intellectual influences sprang from two sources. One was the writing of certain prominent historians, some of whom also happened to be adult educators: R.H. Tawney, G.D.H. Cole, Christopher Hill and E.P. Thompson. The other influential source was political theory, particularly Marxism. These influences combined to suggest that adult education wasn't an end in itself: it had a social purpose—to empower the oppressed and to provide them with the intellectual tools and the knowledge to put the world right. This theoretical lesson was reinforced by the experience of teaching trade unionists and becoming an active trade unionist.

As to how adult education should be practised, this was learnt 'on-the-job' in the classroom, and from the advice particularly of the WEA District Secretary in Yorkshire, Fred Sedgwick; and later from colleagues in the Leeds Adult Education Department who collectively strongly reflected the ideas of the first Head of that Department, S.G. Raybould. But above all, it was the interaction with adult students four evenings a week for many years which really showed how it should, or should not, be done.

The other one of us started her career as a lecturer in higher education teaching mathematics and computer science. At this time in Britain there was no expectation that a lecturer in higher education had any need of a teaching qualification. The fact that this first place of work was a polytechnic led to a very different introduction to higher education than starting in a university would have done. There was effectively no research culture with the emphasis being primarily on teaching and development. This together with a very diverse student population in terms of gender, ethnicity, country of origin, and age resulted in a growing interest in social factors affecting participation and an abiding interest in women's education. A career break as a result of offspring number three led to a serendipitous entry into the world of adult education. This chance happening arguably illustrates the main route into adult education in Britain. The new institution was a long term residential college for women where again it was assumed that all professional development was *ad hoc*, on the job and self-directed. Influences in this process of learning were college colleagues from other disciplines particularly sociology and politics, a network of adult educators in an area of work which had by now focussed on issues around adults learning new technologies, science and mathematics, and the students themselves. These influences

extended and deepened with a move to Exeter. Here for the first time this author came into contact with researchers and scholars in the field. This, together with extensive reading, placed the pragmatic learning of earlier years into a self-constructed, coherent theoretical framework which had grown out of the theories of adult learning; an appreciation of the socio-politico-economic forces on adult education, adult educators and adult students; the structures of the original disciplines; and a solid background of years of adult teaching and programme development and organisation.

What the experiential learning of both of the authors of this paper taught them was that 'adult education' isn't just about how to teach or what to teach; nor even how to enable learners to learn; it is also about purpose. What is it for? Why do we promote, provide or practice adult education?

Why Educate Adults?

At the beginning of the 20th century the university tutorial class movement very largely displaced the older extension movement in Britain. This new university adult education, which became firmly established after the 1908 conference on 'Oxford and Working Class Education', inherited a broad liberal ideological perspective from its nineteenth century predecessor. It also exuded the Balliol philosophy of Benjamin Jowett and T.H. Green. This ideological perspective corresponded to "the reformist current and the social democratic centre of the political spectrum" in Britain. It is epitomised by the philosophies of four of the most influential early leaders of the tutorial class movement—William Temple, R.H. Tawney, A.D. Lindsay and G.D.H. Cole. It provided British university adult education with a range of values or an 'ideological agenda' for much of the twentieth century. This agenda encompassed notions of individual self-fulfilment, social purpose, public service, social justice, and class emancipation "provided they were pursued through a dialectical process rather than by propagandising". That was what university adult education existed **for**: that was **why** it existed. (Fieldhouse, 1984, pp. 37-45).

This agenda was thoughtfully re-examined recently by Sean Courtney in an article which asked 'what role does, or ought, adult education play in the formation and transformation of modern society?' Courtney outlined three phases in the process or transformation of the modern state: firstly, the political effort is mainly directed at ousting the colonial power and achieving consensus around national goals; secondly, "schooling becomes universal, national, and cultural identity are cemented, and education becomes linked to economic and technological goals"; and thirdly, "various social and ethnic groups shatter the consensus and attempt to establish their own political and cultural agendas". In each of these phases of national transformation, Courtney argues, adult education serves a different and sometimes conflicting role (Courtney, 1994). The important thing for an adult educator is to understand these roles, and to realise that what they do as adult educators does not take place in a social vacuum: it contributes to social and national transformation, one way or another.

In a more recent article which identifies three strands of the 'learning society', Richard Edwards questions the 'national' boundaries envisaged by Courtney. "Rather than being members of a single society, we may be part of a heterogeneous series of overlapping and interrelated local, regional, national, international, global societies." In these 'globalised conditions', Edwards argues that current conceptions of a learning society are dominated by the notion of the *learning market* which emphasises support for the competitiveness of the economy as the purpose of lifelong learning, at the expense of other aspects of the learning society. These include the learning society as "*an educated society*, committed to active citizenship, liberal democracy and equal opportunities" and as "*learning networks*, in which learners adopt a learning approach to life, drawing on a wide range of resources to enable them to develop their interests and identities." Edwards would like these two strands to be given at least equal emphasis with the *learning market*, and argues that before we line up behind the learning society banner we should investigate what is on it—i.e. the 'why' factor (Edwards, 1995). Why should we embark on or encourage or promote this learning society? What is its purpose? Is it really the form of adult education we wish to participate in?

What these three examples all illustrate in their different ways is the importance of understanding not just how to be an adult educator, but why. It is essential that in the training of adult educators this

'why' factor is fully investigated, so that they understand the **purpose** as well as the practice of their profession.

Unfortunately a decade and a half of New Right individualism has undermined much of the previous purpose of British adult education—its commitment to active citizenship, public service, class emancipation, democratic participation, social justice, equal opportunities, and self-fulfilment. This, together with the current preoccupation of professional training with student-centred, self-directed learning heavily reinforced by the scientific contribution of psychological learning theory, has very largely converted the 'why' factor from the collective good to individual needs satisfaction, and from social justice to economic competitiveness (Benn and Burton 1995).

We have argued elsewhere (Fieldhouse, 1993; Benn, 1994) that self-directed learning, whether on a taught course or in independent study, has major limitations. It can be too comfortable, allowing existing assumptions and prejudices to go unchallenged and leave untouched aspects of the students' values and actions that they would prefer not to examine. It can also be argued that a programme of self-directed independent study, while meeting the individual's perceived needs, may preclude the consideration of critical, social, cultural and political factors (the 'why' factors), and therefore exclude social benefit and the collective good from any assessment of the value of adult education. It allows the adult educator's practice to remain subjective and normative. As Michael Collins has argued, in the absence of a sustained social critique the adult educator, and therefore his or her students, become vulnerable to the dominant ideologies (Collins, 1991, p. xi).

This was very well illustrated in a review of John Holford's recent book on trade union education in Britain, which argued that "the TUC's use of the 'needs-meeting paradigm' and the language of 'relevance' and 'priorities' led to concentration on what does not seem to have been a major problem in the past"—i.e. **how** to organise in the workplace and **how** to engage in effective bargaining—"and neglects what has always been a problem: the articulation of workplace issues in a wider movement and wider social, economic and political understanding. It is difficult to see what the rhetoric of 'student-centred learning' means if the students are faced with ready-made curriculum which excludes these topics." (Robinson, 1994). Thus the concentration on what was perceived to be the real needs of these trade union students tended to exclude the more fundamental questions about the nature of the society in which that workplace organisation and bargaining was taking place. This happened, perhaps, because those responsible for devising the curricula and insisting on their universal implementation were themselves not very interested in these wider 'why' factors.

Tackling the 'Why' Factor

The curriculum of the M. Ed at the University of Exeter will now be explained to illustrate an attempt to encourage adult educators to think beyond the 'how' to the 'why'. It is less concerned with questions of methodology more with philosophical questions concerning the purpose and role of adult education. These questions are investigated through the media of historical development and contemporary issues and practice. The structure is modular to allow for a planned programme of professional updating. The 'Development and Trends in Adult Continuing Education' module provides an historical perspective to the immediacy of current policy and practice and lends depth to the students' understanding of recent trends in adult continuing education. It emphasises past aims and achievements of adult education in order to clarify understanding of present and future structures, purposes and ideology. The resultant notions of continuity and development are intended to bring a sense of coherence and proportion to a rapidly changing world. These ideas are developed further in the module 'Continuing Adult Education in its Political, Social, and Economic Context'. Here it is emphasised that professional practice exists and develops within a socio-politico-economic context where there are a variety of different perspectives and dynamics including feminism, racism, ageism, disability, and social class and these are examined in the light of government policies and contemporary political ideologies. In the module on 'Community Education', special attention is given to the proposition that community education can and should be defined as radical education. A fourth module, 'Access and Entitlement' identifies legal, social, political and economic issues underlying entitlement to education by adults in Britain, examines participation, and targeting of

the different and diverse groups in society and critically evaluates current accessibility. This detailed analysis of participation, non-participation, and retention is essential to the discussion of the 'why' of adult education located in the 'who'. Underpinning all these modules, that on 'Adult Teaching and Learning' provides a theoretical perspective to adult learning and hence adult teaching by critically examining current policy and practice through the lens of theory and provides the students the opportunity to reflect on their own experiences as teachers and learners within a wider theoretical framework. There is also a module, the 'Reflective Practitioner in Adult Education', which concentrates both theoretically and empirically on this concept.

It can be seen that this course of study is based on the questions of who and why. The course extends the argument beyond the prevailing ideology of individual need and *learning market* to include the tradition of education for social change and collective need.

Why Should Universities be Involved in Educating the Adult Educator?

This section investigates this second why question, which is particularly relevant now in the context of the recent and current attacks on university adult education in both North America and Europe. It emphasises the centrality of critical thinking and reflection in the training of adult educators and the importance of basing this training on relevant research and scholarship.

Liberal adult education is concerned with developing the students' critical faculties and their ability to question all existing assumptions and to enable them to formulate, or at least understand, alternative interpretations. No issues or positions should be exempt from this rigorous and critical analysis. This process should open out and indeed challenge the students' conceptions of their own environment, widen their experience and understanding, and thereby increase their awareness of alternative conceptions (Fieldhouse 1985). In order to facilitate this form of education, continuing professional development of adult educators must be more than just the acquisition of further knowledge, important though this is. It should also provide the participant with the opportunity to develop further the complex skills of knowledge-in-use and reflection-in-action (Schon 1982, 1987). Critical reflection is fundamentally critical self-reflection allowing individuals to step back from their involvement and view this in the context of a wider framework, to evaluate and to consider alternatives. Through this kind of open critique, individuals reach positions of intellectual independence in which they are enabled to see through the apparent giveness of a proposition and its theoretical anchoring and so gain a measure of freedom from entrapment by any conceptual schema. It allows the professional to identify operant paradigms and consciously move between them (Barnett 1992). If the essence of professional education lies in the professional developing the capacities of critical thinking and reflection with the acquisition of further technological knowledge and skills being of necessary but secondary importance, it is essential to establish the most appropriate institutional base for such an education.

Higher education and the university sector has long been valued by society as a major means through which participants learn to bring powers of high level reflection to bear on their experiences. In higher education, those who teach are drawn from a profession who also generate knowledge by means of research and scholarship and higher education fosters broad transferable skills based on the abilities to reason and analyse, not just narrow technical skills or competencies. University continuing education is well placed to make accessible high quality, flexible education for adult educators within the framework of higher education (UACE 1995). This higher level of education should enable the meta-discourse which allows the adult educator to engage in critical dialogue with themselves at all times i.e. that develops and strengthens exactly those skills that ensure the critical and reflective practitioner.

Higher education then has a crucial role to play in the continuing professional education of adult educators. However the adoption of this reflective practitioner approach has fundamental implications for the universities in terms of the curriculum and learning methods used in this provision. The implied level of student autonomy and independence in thought and action points to a curriculum founded significantly on learning where the student is challenged to take full responsibility for their claims in thought and action. The space that self reflection

calls for, points to a teaching ethos which expects students to be responsible for their own learning. It is crucial that teaching styles should not be didactic but discursive and exploratory and that the student experience, past, present and future, should be a real and central part of the curriculum.

However this then brings us full circle. If the adult educator's experience is central, so is an understanding of the socio-politico-economic framework within which s/he, and necessarily his/her students, live and learn. So also is an understanding of the range of purposes of adult education. These understandings, developed through research and scholarship, encourage the skills and abilities necessary for any professional adult educators to operate successfully in these times of rapid change. Universities need to be centrally involved in the provision of education for the adult educator. They are uniquely placed to encourage the adult educator to think beyond the 'how' to the 'who' and 'why' and hence to actively develop and extend adult education's contribution to social participation and democracy.

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ANALYSIS, IMAGINATION AND COMMITMENT IN THE EDUCATION OF ADULT EDUCATOR

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'If the doors of perception were cleansed every thing would appear to man as it is, infinite. For man has closed himself up, till he sees all things thro' narrow chinks of his cavern.'

- from William Blake's ***'Proverbs of Hell'***

Introduction

This paper reflects on the experience of working with three cohorts of part-time postgraduate students following a Masters course in Adult Education. Exercising their freedom, within certain limits, to determine their own curriculum, the students on this course challenged much of the current theory and practice of continuing education in Britain. In what follows I wish to examine the ways in which students responded to this course to open up some questions about the training of adult educators in modern industrial societies.

The questions to be considered concern: a) the analytical resources of the subject of adult education b) the working contexts in which the vocation of adult education is carried out and c) the sense of possibility for change in adult lives which informs the work of its practitioners. A central proposition in the paper is that what has been described as the 'macro order' of change in modern industrial societies, is exemplified in the 'micro order' and learning experience of particular groups of students and courses of study. (Layder 1994)

To formulate the proposition more explicitly: adult education practitioners typically arrive at a sense of their subject and of their training needs within it, from the narrow angles of their very varied working contexts. They are committed, nevertheless, to education of a kind which liberates people and which opens up possibilities for real and sustainable changes in the organization of society and its institutions.

The connections, however, between professional concerns and the critical theoretical discourses of university-based adult education, are difficult to make and often unsettling for students. They make these connections in different ways and use ideas selectively and often out of context. Theoretical pragmatism seems to be the rule. They test out the relevance of ideas against the day to day practical demands of their jobs. The outcome is the common discourse among them is ideologically fragmented and certainly not bounded by the older political traditions of the subject.

This is hardly surprising. Adult education work roles are highly diverse. In the absence of strong professional associations of adult educators or of what Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger have called 'communities of practice', there is little prospect of a strong sense of identity and vocation to emerge among them. (Lave and Wenger 1991) Nevertheless, there are some areas of common understanding about what is essential in the theory, philosophy and practice of adult and continuing education.

As a new kind of society is constructed around us — with its global markets, international communication networks, knowledge-based economies, growing professionalisation of occupations, growing inequalities, fractured communities and 'lean burn' work organizations—adult educators are struggling to define a new role for themselves and to rethinks the basis of their own practice. My colleagues and I have observed this process at work with the students we teach. In what follows I have attempted to describe how our students have struggled to define the essential curriculum of adult and continuing education.

Method

The arguments of this paper are built up from reflection and discussion with a total of 43 people representing three cohorts of students on a part-time, two year postgraduate course in the university of Durham. The course they have followed is one which seeks to implement in its own practices some of the most important principles of good adult education.

These include the requirement to take seriously that adult students are adults; that their experience of their work is something they wish to reflect on; that they learn most effectively when they set their own learning goals and are enabled to enter into a safe, open dialogue with other course members.

A central assumption of the staff team is that learning is a social process, an aspect of social practice. The core of it is dialogue and the ends of learning are understanding of a kind which results in new possibilities for social action. The course, as has been reported elsewhere, aims to be a reflective one and encourages its members to be analytical about and sensitive to its own dynamics (Knights 1993).

This fundamental organizing principle enables us to use the group's own self reflection as a way of revealing the subtle ways in which the macro structures of education systems emerge from the micro orders of group interaction.

Two outcomes of this approach are relevant to this paper: the course enables—indeed requires—students to engage in a process of negotiating their own curriculum. This has resulted in an account of what practitioners of adult education consider the central issues of their subject and professional interests to be. Secondly, it opened up opportunities for students to reflect on the progress of their own learning and to challenge the staff team to a new interpretation of their roles and responsibilities and to question their own view of the nature of their subject and profession.

The empirical base for the argument of the paper is thus the experience of the course. The paper can be seen as a kind of course ethnography which tries to see reflected in the micro order of a particular setting some picture of the macro order of a complex and changing world and of the different kinds of understandings being built up about it.

The students on this course are engaged in a variety of work settings. The successes and failures of their efforts to practice adult education, to help others learn, provide insights into the contemporary contexts of all adult learning. Their response to those contexts, their sense of their own professional identity, provides essential clues to the vocation of adult education in Britain in the 1980s and 1990s. (Collins 1991)

Throughout the six years of the course, the staff team have kept careful records; they have shared their understanding of it and have discussed its aims, organization, methods, achievements and failures extensively, both among themselves and with students. They have supervised dissertations and have come to know at first hand how students have approached their work. They have lived with the tensions within the course and have come to know a great deal of the different work settings within which adult education is practiced in this country.

The course in this sense has been a window on the world challenging how the staff team interpret that world and challenging, too, the internal world of the university and the ways in which the logic of university life sets limits on what can be legitimated as the theory, philosophy and practice of adult education.

The methods used to understand, re-frame and analyse the experience of this course, include sustained dialogue with students in the spirit of what has been called 'new paradigm' research (Reason and Rowan 1981) and reflection of a kind which seeks to situate the experience of particular groups of people within the circumstances in which they lead their professional lives.

In addition, in keeping with the spirit of contemporary social theory, the method embodies a strong requirement to frame contemporary observations within a strong sense of history. (Giddens 1976, 1984) From this angle, both the courses themselves and the students' experience of them, and, certainly, the experience of the students in their place of work, have to be seen as a facet of what Giddens calls 'structuration'. (Giddens 1979) This draws attention to the active involvement of social actors in the

processes of defining, reproducing and changing social practices and social structures.

Our students have never been ciphers of the organizations in which they work. In different ways, and to different degrees, they have sought to redefine their roles and change the contexts of their daily work. How far they have succeeded is, of course, a matter of the opportunities open to them and the power they have had available to assist them.

What they have sought to achieve has been a feature of their professional and political commitment; it is a facet of how they have interpreted their experience, understood their world and imagined alternatives to it.

Within each of these dimensions of their practice i.e. their working contexts, their power, their perception of the opportunities open to them, they have sought clarification, confirmation and justification for what they have come to think about their work and the values which govern their practice. Making sense of their experience is a process therefore, of triangulation. It involves relating their thoughts and feelings about themselves as adult educators to the circumstances of their work, the historical traditions they feel part of and the communities of practice they operate in.

The analysis they made of these issues was negotiated through the structures of the course to produce an account of the theory, philosophy and practice of adult education which reveals the ways in which academic subjects ultimately reflect the structures of the distribution of power in society. From this angle, any curriculum can be conceived as a negotiated balance of interests, a series of compromises about contents - or what Bernstein has called 'classification' and forms of teaching and learning, which he called 'frames'. (1971) How a curriculum or subject is classified and framed sets the boundaries between it and other curricula and confers a particular subject identity on those who follow it.

At the same time, the curriculum of the course reveals, too, the resources available to people to define what matters, what is important in a given area of enquiry. These resources of ideas are related, as will be seen, to particular bodies of theory and discourse as well as to particular writers. These resources represent a selection from a vast universe of possibilities. They represent different engagements with the traditions of the subject and shape, therefore, the ways in which practitioners judge priorities within their practice as educators.

They enable them too, to undertake their own 'journeys of hope' as adult educators. (Williams 1983) Their interpretations of what those resources are, are telling. They encapsulate that precarious balance between challenge and change, order and control which typify the social and political conflicts of all modern societies seeking a sustainable future but without agreement how that might be achieved. They reflect the prevailing sense of the possibility of change in our society, both in terms of what individuals might realize in their lives and in terms of what kind of society can be built in the circumstances of the world.

It might seem that a group of 43 adult educators is rather a small sample upon which to build such discussions. Perhaps it is. The point though is this: the experience of these people reaches outwards to the experience of hundreds of others whose learning they facilitate. Their personal and professional commitment to education brings them close to the most vital, important and challenging problems facing the education of adults in modern British society. Their encounter with a university-based course of study reveals features of how all bodies of knowledge are defined and legitimated. Their experience of continuing education is vital to our understanding of what the vocation of adult education now is.

Above all, their prevailing sense of the possibilities and opportunities for change in our society, based as it is on close contact with many different constituencies of students, is a valuable resource for reflection for all who take these questions to be among the most important modern societies themselves face.

The Students

The course to which the students discussed here were recruited began in 1989 in the University of Durham. It was the first postgraduate course in Adult Education the university had ever offered and its development was part of a broader change in the organization and philosophy of the department itself,

which was moving, in a not uncontested way, from being a department of Extramural studies to one of continuing education. This shift was taking place through university-based adult education departments in Britain. The postgraduate course was designed to meet the needs of practitioners for further professional development and to consolidate within the academic identity of the department itself, an area of enquiry in the theory, philosophy and practice of continuing education.

Course regulations, which were agreed by the University through the Faculty of Social Sciences, defined a course with broad entry requirements. These allowed the department to recruit to a postgraduate course people without an initial undergraduate degree. The only requirement—in addition to providing evidence that they could benefit from and had the necessary skills to complete the course—was that they had recent relevant professional practice in some area of continuing education.

The three cohorts of students recruited to the course to date have included 21 men and 22 women. The areas of practice in which they have worked are as follows:

Table 1

Area of Work x Gender

	Men	Women
Higher Education	1	1
Further Education	5	4
Employment Training	4	3
Social Work	-	3
Counselling	-	1
Voluntary Work	1	3
Religion	2	-
Nurse Education	4	3
Community Education	4	4
School Education	1	-
Total	21	22

The staff team were not surprised by the range of work being undertaken by students. What did surprise us was the total absence of applications from people we thought of as traditional adult education tutors, the sort of people who worked as part-time adult educators in university Extramural departments or who worked for organizations like the WEA (Workers' Education Association).

It is, of course, this absent group who have been for over half a century at the centre of discussions, at least in Britain, about the training needs of adult educators.

The famous Ministry of Reconstruction Report of 1919 on adult education suggested the need for training to be provided for adult educators. The Carnegie Trust report of 1928, noted the importance of developing adult educators themselves if the goals of the service were to be realized. (Carnegie Trust 1928) These goals were conceived as follows:

The aim of adult education is not to give the student a better place in the labour market, but to give him (sic) the opportunity of living a fuller and more interesting life, and to equip him for a more intelligent citizenship. (1928:1)

The report noted the spirit which animated adult education: 'a passion for social improvement based on a quickened sense of social solidarity.' (p. 2) This was framed in the view that, even if knowledge was not in itself power, it was indispensable condition of it. Given this way of seeing adult education, it was imperative that the educators themselves 'must be alive to the main social, industrial, religious and political questions of the day, and their bearing on the interests of the students. (1928:27) The report demanded that courses of training be but in place in universities to enable this to happen. Some courses did exist at the time, in Nottingham and Oxford but provision was piecemeal.

This was the Great Tradition from which university-based adult had sprung. In the 1940s and 1950s it developed into mainstream adult education practice in universities. The tutorial class and radical earnestness became its symbols. By the early 1970s a clear view of the training needs of its practitioners had emerged but one in which was strong on practice and weak in theory. The Great Tradition had demanded subject expertise and political awareness from its practitioners. But its practitioners, it was noted, lacked a proper grounding in the theory of their practice. (Elsdon 1975:57)

Their strength, so it was claimed by Elsdon, lay in their commitment to a set of values centred on the full development of the personality. Their weaknesses, it was thought, could be overcome through courses which enabled them to become more aware of the problems of student motivation, the processes of learning and the identification of student needs. (Universities Council for Adult Education 1970)

The course which we developed in Durham can be seen as part of this tradition of thinking and this community of practice. A strong view had emerged in the department during the late 1970s and early 1980s that good adult education practice had to be informed by current research in learning theory, the social psychology of groups and in a thorough understanding of the structures of opportunity and denial faced by adults in modern society. Outreach work—sometimes knows as 'pioneer work'—undertaken in the department during this period had, together with determined initiatives to promote the access of mature students to the university, had strengthened a commitment to community-based education initiatives and to the building up of strong networks among adult educators and part-time tutors.

Given this, the provision of a postgraduate course in adult education was seen by staff in the department as an important way in which the university, through the department, could realize that part of its mission which was to serve the educational needs of the wider community. It has to be said, however, that the deep model of adult education which still held sway in the department was centred on the kind of work being undertaken in departments like our own and in organizations like the WEA.

Our failure to attract interest in the course from staff in these areas was a surprise and a shock, for we were not as prepared as we should have been for the challenges which came from the students we did recruit. Those challenges brought into question not only our tacit views of the theory and practice of adult education, which had been rooted in the Great Tradition of liberal adult education. They challenged, too, the prevailing understanding within the university about what constituted teaching, learning, assessment and whose responsibility it was to determine curricula. We thought we know what radical and progressive practice in adult education amounted to. We underestimated the challenge that such practice would make to our own course and to the university procedures of which it was a part.

The course began with a clarification of the value base of its members and a code of practice was defined in which members' views were to be respected and their integrity as adults acknowledged. Then began the process of defining—negotiating — the content of the curriculum for one major course on Issues in Adult Education. This process was repeated with each subsequent cohort of students. The topics which each group identified as important were as follows:

Table 2.

Topic Areas x Year Group

1989	1991	1993
Labelling, rhetoric		
Experience, culture		
Barriers		Barriers
Aims of Adult Ed		Aims of Adult Ed
Power, hierarchy	knowledge, power	
Participation	participation	
Training		
Accreditation	Accreditation	Accreditation
Evaluation		
Management		
Learning		Learning
Open Learning	Open Learning	
Empowerment		
Social Control		Social Control
Vocationalism		
De-skilling		
Resources		Resources
	Group Work	
	Life worlds	Ideology
	HE policy	
	Professionalism	Professions
	Comparison	Europe
	Motivation	
	Access	Access
	Informal AE	
	Community AE	
	Creativity	
	Technology	
	Equal Opps	
	Prison Ed	
	Counselling	

The above lists represent the topics members of each group wished to see covered in the course. The listing provided the basis for subsequent discussions about how each weekly session should be structured. The topics were varied and differed for each group,

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though with significant overlaps of agreement. Central to all three groups were issues concerned with the accreditation of learning and the barriers to the participation of adults in post-school education.

The topics which two groups identified as being central to their interests included issues of power and knowledge, social control, questions of history and ideology, of professionalism, learning and comparison and the whole theme of access to learning.

These topics are well within what might be construed as mainstream academic work in the theory, philosophy and practice of adult education. Students are required by the course to write a 20,000 word dissertation. They are encouraged to focus this work on an area of professional interest or practice. The choice of dissertation topic indicates an understandable narrowing of interest which highlights the foci of professional concerns among them.

A review of the dissertation topics prompts the following typification of the professional field of this group.

Diagram 1

Mapping the Professional Field of Adult Educators

LEARNING COMMUNITY

LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGY

ACCESS TRAINING

A thread running through the course, both reflecting staff interests and student concerns is language and the terminology currently employed in adult education. This sensitivity to language is heightened by a strong theoretical interest—in the course team, among the students and in the literature of adult education—in narrative and discourse analysis, in power and in the themes of ideology.

Tributaries to these concerns among the students include a strong professional interest among some—especially those from a social work background—in anti-oppressive, anti-racist educational practice. For those committed to feminist analysis the whole question of discourse analysis is central to their thinking. Those from employment training contexts came to the course with a critical, if not in some cases justifiably cynical, interest in terms like empowerment and creativity. The strong representation among course members of students from further education guaranteed an underlying concern with issues and language of access and of the denial of educational opportunities.

The themes to emerge in the interests and professional concerns of these students have a radical edge to them which sometimes resulted in tensions within the group. Four fluid clusters of interests can be shown to stand out among the students.

The first, and numerically the most significant is a constellation of interests in psychological issues focused on the process of adult learning, student motivation and forms of participative teaching and learning. The students in this group showed resistance to didactic teaching methods and strove whenever possible to encourage, nurture and use in their own presentations, participative techniques of learning. As a group, they were less interested in some of the political-ideological issues of adult education, though some did, of course, conceive of participative practice in entirely radical political terms.

The second group can be characterized as people with a strong and pragmatic interest in issues of training and employment and professional practice. The contexts which mattered to them were those of training—of social workers, nurses or teachers. Some were interested in the field of employment training and in re-equipping the socially disadvantaged to participate in labour markets. Their interest in training issues reflects their employment and the growth in several areas of professional employment of a concern for staff development, improved management skills and accreditation issues.

A third configuration concerned those with radical, political concerns. Strongly represented in this group were the community educators—including a few students with strong Third World interests—keen to improve the lives of the socially excluded. Theirs was an interest in the pedagogy of the oppressed and their commitment was to transformative, empowering styles of adult education and anti-oppressive practice.

Some members of this grouping found it difficult to accept the assessment methods of the course itself, believing them to symbolize everything they objected to in elitist, exclusionary formal educational practice. Among this grouping were people who insisted that the course must live out in its own practice the best practice of a liberating andragogy.

The challenge to the structures of the course which came from within this group of people led some members of the staff team to feel disempowered because they did not feel able to take on the roles of academic leader in the group. (Knights 1993) Some students felt alienated too from some aspects of the practice they at times insisted upon, such as breaking up in to single gender groups to handle some intellectual issues.

The fourth cluster includes those mainly interested in questions of educational management. Their interest was aroused in discussions about resource allocation, management styles, assessment procedures and debates about the relationship between education and employment.

The course therefore covered a wide spectrum of interests and orientations to adult education which reflected the diversity of student interest and experience and the work settings in which they were employed. Adult education is therefore a very broad church.

The staff team were intrigued by criticism of it which came from its external Examiner, Professor Richard Taylor of the University of Leeds. His concern was that the negotiated curriculum of the courses downplayed important themes in the history, ideology and development of adult education in Britain. He was correct in his observations but his comments ran counter to the underlying interests of the student body. The differences between the conventional academic view of what the study of adult education should be—which in Professor Taylor's and the course team's opinion was framed still by the concerns of the Great Tradition—and those of the students, reflects the huge variation in the working contexts of adult educators themselves.

Adult education has escaped the university and therefore reflects more accurately than it once did the fissures, tensions, contradictions, doubts and problems of a highly differentiated modern society which can no longer be so easily described using the terminology of pre-modernist social theory. Bauman has noted that social imagery is always a step behind the organization of society. (1982) The kind of class structure which nurtured the sentiments, ideas and commitments of the Great Tradition of adult education in Britain, not longer exists.

It remains, however, as Bauman has noted, a powerful memory and for some adult educators a powerful frame to their thinking. But not for others, and this is the main point: adult educators who seek to train others in their vocation, cannot assume their students have the same commitments or that there is a shared discourse among practitioners about the ends and means of their practice.

What stands out with this group of students is that none felt any particular attachment to the university-based Great Tradition. Closer inspection of their interests suggests that they flow from the contexts of their work. Following Clifford Geertz, I want to suggest that the configurations of interest and commitment displayed in the group reflect neither the ideological fractures of society or the unique stresses within the lives of educators. Neither the interest or the strain theory of ideology will do to explain the views of this group of students. (1973)

Their interests symbolize distinctive kinds of commitment and ways of ordering experience among a creative and diverse group of people. Their orientations to adult education reflect their attempts, influenced by their work experience, reading and professional problems, to find meaning and purpose in what they do and help them explain what is happening in their field of practice.

The central concept for those with a strong political orientation to their work was that of power. This is hardly surprising. Most of them were actively engaged in jobs or projects in which they were expected to change things, to fight for resources, to open up opportunities, to support the excluded.

The intellectual resources they valued lay in Marxist analyses, feminism, the work of Freire and Illich. Students with strong religious interests enthused positively about Latin American liberation theology. One or two students reached outwards to writers like

Habermas and responded positively to being introduced to critical social theorists like Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck. For only a few people was there much to found in the writings of people like R.H. Tawney, Raymond Williams or Richard Hoggart, doyens of the liberal-left traditions of university-based adult education in Britain.

For those with a strong interest in management, the key concept was that of structure. Their interests centred on organizational structures, a range of management and policy issues and were much more bound up with creating and managing the conditions under which people might learn than with the contents or the processes of learning itself.

Those with a strong psychological orientation—with strong representation among nurse educators, social workers, access specialists in the further education sector, or those with interests in guidance and counselling—drew their nourishment from and legitimated their practice through the writings of Knowles, Rogers, Bruner, Maslow and Mezirow. Important to some was the work of Eric Fromm and Vygotsky. Group process theorists interested them greatly. Humanistic psychology is the frame to their thinking and it is this which supplies them with the sense of possibility for change in the lives of their students.

Their enthusiasm is for questions of process rather than contents. They are more interested in how things are discussed than in the veracity of what is being discussed. Their research methods are qualitative rather than quantitative. They remain intrigued by and disappointed with the attempts of adult educationists to specify the processes of adult learning.

The professional grouping had a central interest in techniques of teaching and learning. Their interest lay in ideas about the 'reflective practitioner' and the ways to nurture them. The disengagement of this group from the political interests of some members of the course was palpable. Theirs was a pragmatic world of real students pursuing professional careers—as policemen, social workers and nurses—who could be helped to develop their skills more effectively. What these students wanted from the course was 'know-how' about how to achieve that.

As communities of practice, the three masters degree cohorts were extremely fragmented groups. The divisions within the student body did not prevent creative and mutually beneficial inter-professional dialogue, but the boundaries were clear and the priorities of people were very different. Each group expected different things of the staff team so that it was difficult for the course to develop a distinctive rationale and identity.

The Vocation of Adult Education

The experience of students on this course has been as varied as their commitments within it. Course evaluations point to a course which students found challenging, interesting but ultimately frustrating, since it answered none of their questions satisfactorily. The components of the course which people enjoyed most were those of the group processes course and being able to work on their own research projects. All students comment on the value of discussing their work with practitioners in other fields of adult education. Most students have commented that as a result of the course their practice has in some ways improved and their sense of their professional identity has been strengthened.

But what of the vocation of adult education ? Only one group was asked specifically about this, but their observations ring true for the group as a whole. Their account of this, arrived at through intense discussion in the group, reveals a central commitment to the possibility of change in peoples' lives through education. One member of the group, with considerable support from the others, described the elements of his sense of vocation as a pioneering spirit to put right the wrongs of society, to engage people in learning and a principled opposition to privilege.

This collective sense of what their underlying professional purpose is, is informed by their understanding of andragogical principles and a stress on participative, experiential, reflective practice in education. They believe they know how to help others learn. For some, this commitment flows from a deep religious feeling. For others it flows from secular sources in radical political and social theory or in humanistic psychologies. They are all possessed of a sense that the world and peoples' lives within it can be otherwise than they are. Few

students felt themselves to part of a tradition of theory, politics or educational practice.

They know that their vocation is a difficult one to follow. The strongest theme to emerge was that their assessment of the vocational possibilities of their work was determined almost exclusively by the circumstances of their employment.

Some—this was particularly true of those working in further education—talked of an overwhelming feeling of helplessness, of pressure, stress and the turmoil of change. They spoke of low morale, poor motivation and exhaustion. They expressed considerable surprise at their own capacity to manage their day-to day work.

Others expressed a strong sense of professional isolation in their working environments and articulated a sense that they were not really appreciated or understood. Some of the nurse trainers from the previous cohorts on this courses talked about the discrepancy between what they knew to be good adult practice and what their employers allowed them to do. One student was explicitly forbidden to use the work of Carol Gilligan on her course for nurses ! Those with a strong commitment to provide support to access students complain that the logic of public policy on education funding, requires them to treat students as numbers on registers and not as human beings with learning needs.

The radicals express dissatisfaction with the way in which they have been stripped of the resource to do their job. The rise of the cost-cutting, contract state has devalued community education in Britain. Those with a strong commitment to empower others to learn feel strongly disempowered themselves.

Those working in various contexts of staff development and training comment that their work is driven by performance criteria and that they are unable to nurture the reflective practitioners they believe their employers need. They feel acutely the tension which now exists between education and training and feel very frustrated at the gap between the possibilities open to them and what they can actually achieve.

Each group of students on this course has viewed the world from the vantage point of their own experience. Each has had its perspective enriched by a growing awareness of how other adult educators think and act. All find it difficult to realize in practice what they take their vocational commitment to be.

Perhaps they are no different from other groups of professionals in the circumstances of modern societies. What the course described here has provided them with is an opportunity for inter-professional dialogue of a kind which enabled them to be critical of their own practice, to extend the theoretical reach of their understanding and to help them value what they do in a society which has found many ways to devalue and marginalize them.

Surely this is the responsibility of those who seek to train adult educators: to create the conditions for dialogue and reflection among them to support their vocational commitment and their sense of the possibilities open to their students and for the societies in which they work. Whether this is an argument with as much resonance in North America, Canada or other developed industrial societies with different systems of adult education to the one in which the group described here work, is another matter. It is one we can debate. As the world shrinks on the internet to a global village, it is a debate we urgently need. The future role of adult educators in that world is not something to leave to politicians or to the market. The vocation is ours to define.

'Every thing possible to be believed is an image of the truth'

'What is now proved was once only imagin'd

- from William Blake ***'Proverbs of Hell'***

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FORMAL COURSES OF PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR AUSTRALIAN ADULT EDUCATORS: PROGRAMS, PROVIDERS, PARTICIPANTS, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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ABSTRACT

The term adult education has both a narrow restricted meaning and a broader much more inclusive meaning. Adult educators, broadly defined, come to their jobs from a variety of occupational backgrounds and each performs a range of occupational roles. Formal award programs for the professional development of these educators have evolved over the recent past. In certain important aspects these programs are significantly different from other more usual programs of initial teacher preparation. All these programs, though they are offered at a range of levels with a variety of names and a number of specific formats and modes of delivery, have had to address a number of common problems. These include the following: the lack of clarity about terminology; doubts about the value of formal professional courses; uncertainty about the value of occupational (competency) 'standards'; credentialism and the new vocationalism; newer concepts of professional education; and the place of adult educator development in the more general field of teacher education. It is in the resolution of questions such as these that the new face of adult education as a field of academic study for Australian and other practitioners will take shape

ADULT EDUCATION AND ADULT EDUCATORS

The term adult education was used in Australia for many years in basically the traditional British sense to mean non-vocational, non-credit educational activities, generally of the liberal arts variety, pursued by adults in their own time and of their own volition: the so-called 'great tradition' view of adult education. The main institutional vehicles for the provision of such adult education were seen as the university departments of adult education and voluntary associations like the Workers' Educational Association. However, in recent years, the preoccupations of the 'great tradition' have been largely displaced by efforts to promote the cause of education for adults more widely. There have been many reasons for this, but the two of the most prominent have been the recognition of the economic value of training adults to perform their jobs better and the potential of the education of adults to increase life chances. Thus the term adult education has come to be used more in the same sense as it is used by bodies like UNESCO and OECD. Today adult education in Australia is seen as encompassing trade union education, vocational education and training, human resource development, preparation for formal study, agricultural extension, Aboriginal education, adult basic education, English for adult migrants, community education, as well as the non-formal, non-credit and 'liberal' education of adults. It is in this more inclusive sense—adult education as the education of adults—that the term is used in this paper. It follows that an adult educator is one concerned with the education of adults.

Traditionally, people have entered the field of adult education from some other occupational field or in a part-time and/or voluntary role. Those who entered from other occupational backgrounds, usually held occupationally specific qualifications which were regarded as adequate for their new position. Many voluntary and/or part-time educators of adults did not possess formal post-secondary educational qualifications at all. This aspect of recruitment into the field has contributed to the diversity, openness, strength and persistence of the adult education movement despite its marginal status within the educational system. Of course, this aspect has had another side. Until quite recently the needs of individual adult educators for personal and

professional development were largely left to those individuals to organise and undertake as best they could. Consequently, adult educators developed professionally largely as a result of on-the-job experiences, some employer sponsored workshops and in a very few cases, formal study at the graduate level. There has been, over the last decade or so, a growing agreement, among Australian adult educators, on the need for more formal learning experiences to support the orientation, induction and development of adult education personnel. However, the fragmentation of the field and its lack of resources have made it difficulty for many practitioners to gain a comprehensive perspective on the field—its scope, basic propositions, issues and trends. This situation has been exacerbated by the fact that many practitioners have entered the field from a previous occupational background. Initial occupation identity has tended in many cases to block the awareness of, or acknowledgment by, many in the field that they are, in fact, adult educators.

Just as the origins of adult educators are varied, so are their job titles. The following partial list was drawn from the information provided by participants enrolled in the adult education programs at one Australian university. It provides a good idea as to the range of job titles.

Adult Educators: Their Job Titles

adviser
counsellor/case worker
consultant
volunteer home tutor (ABE & ESOL)
coordinator of a community agency
adult literacy officer
community librarian
ABE teacher
information/publicity/public relations officer
ESOL teacher
training officer
community nursing coordinator
training manager
technical instructor
Aboriginal community worker
Aboriginal liaison officer
Aboriginal health worker
staff development officer
project officer
craft teacher
youth worker
social educator
community relations officer
part-time TAFE teacher
museum/gallery guide
marriage counsellor
community educator
human relations educator
community development officer
community arts officer
health educator
community aid coordinator
family therapist
administrator, community learning centre
nurse educator
administrative officer
principal (evening college)
EEO coordinator
tutor (WEA)
supervisor of clinical practice

FORMAL AWARD PROGRAMS FOR ADULT EDUCATORS

Providers & Programs Today

The material in this section of the paper is drawn from the pioneering work done by Edward Reid-Smith, published in his book, *Directory of Qualifications in Adult Education in Australia and New Zealand.*

About 20 institutions of higher education provide courses of professional education leading to formal academic awards for those who may be called adult educators. In terms of level these qualifications range from Associate Diploma (one year of undergraduate study) to Doctor of Philosophy. Some of these institution are pre 1988 universities who long have had an interest in the education of adult educators. Others are those universities both pre and post 1988 which have recently expanded into this area, generally from the base of a more usual teacher education program. However, the bulk of enrolments come from the successors to those pre 1988 colleges which had a long history of educating teachers of adults. Usually, these institutions had evolved from that portion of their state's teachers' college system that

had responsibility for the education of technical teachers- those individuals who work in the Australian TAFE system which provides education from pre vocational level to two year undergraduate level. Additionally, a small number of adult educators receive their occupational education in a TAFE College. Such TAFE awards are generally at the advanced certificate, associate diploma or diploma level.

Some of these providers have a full range of programs from the associate diploma to the doctor of philosophy. While other providers have only one program or perhaps only a sequence of subjects within a more generic award program. In the account that follows all student figures are EFTSU that is 'effective full time student units'. In terms of total enrolments the largest provider enrols in excess of 1000 EFTSU, more than one third of the total, while the smallest enrols less than 20. In terms of level of award, the largest enrolments are at the bachelor's degree level about 1500 (1000 in 3 year and 500 in 4 year programs). There are about 600 EFTSUs enrolled in various graduate diploma programs, and almost 200 EFTSU in master's degree programs. At the doctoral level, there are about 15 EdD and 10 PhD EFTSU. Altogether, across Australia, there are about 2850 EFTSU enrolled in all such programs designed for the professional development of adult educators. Because many of these are part time students the number of participants is probably about 4500.

A wide range of program nomenclature is in use. These range from the broadly general to the very specific. So to lesser or greater intent these course titles suggest the course content and the emphasis of the program. The following course titles give a favour of the concerns and diversity of this field—Diploma in Adult Education (Aboriginal Education), Diploma of Vocational Instruction, Bachelor of Adult and Vocational Teaching, Bachelor of Social Sciences (Human Services—Adult and Community Education), Bachelor of Arts in HRD, Graduate Certificate in Continuing Education, Graduate Diploma in TESOL, Graduate Diploma in Adult Education (ABE), Master of Arts (Community Education), Master of Education (Adult Education), Master of Arts (Education and Work), and Master of Education (Adult Education and Training).

In terms of staff numbers, there appears to be about 160 full time members of academic staff who are principally occupied in teaching on programs of professional education for adult educators. In terms of academic rank about 100 are lecturers, 40 are senior lecturers, 15 are associate professors, and 5 are professors. Many more part-time and other staff are used to supplement these core staff. Little is currently known about the academic qualifications and professional backgrounds of these staff members. However, it appears to be unlikely that many would hold doctoral level qualifications in adult education or that adult education was their first career in higher education. More research is needed on this aspect of the professional education process.

Historical Background To These Programs

In the university sector full programs and university subjects designed to assist in the professional education of adult educators evolved from that University's role as a provider of adult and continuing education activities. In general, these programs/subjects were at the post graduate level.

Colleges of advanced education became involved in this area in the 1970s generally at the level of the graduate diploma. Often it was that part of the state or territory's 'system' of advanced education that had responsibility for the preparation of vocational teachers, that offered these new qualifications. However it was soon realised that many adult educators did not hold a degrees and hence could not take advantage of these new qualifications. To meet this need there were introduced a number of two year full time equivalent program of study leading to the award of Associate Diploma. In general, these programs were highly practical and focussed on the priority concerns of the participant in his or her work situation. These programs, though they led to an initial formal higher education qualification, were, in general only offered in the inservice mode to practising educators of adults. Full diplomas and bachelor level qualifications were also added Often these built upon more basic qualifications and were designed to enable those participants, who so wished, to take their studies further and deeper. From about the mid-1980s onwards a number of forces to do with the organisation of adult education, developments in vocation education and training, the growth of

accreditation, and even the restructuring of higher education came together to fuel the growth of these formal award programs.

The first sentence of the then current policy statement on adult education issued by the New South Wales Ministry of Education— 'adult education is an important and integral part of the education system of New South Wales' (Ministry of Education, NSW, 1986)—highlighted the changes which had occurred in governmental and social perceptions of adult education. While not actually centre stage, adult education (broadly defined) was now at least firmly established on the educational stage. This largely neglected aspect of education, at long last, was receiving some attention. Increasingly, adult education was being seen as an appropriate vehicle for the achievement of a number of important governmental goals. Adult education could contribute to the improvement of the vocational skills of the workforce. It could offer a way back into the educational mainstream for some adults. It could contribute through the extension of access, to greater equity in the use of educational resources. It could promote greater social and political literacy. It could reach disadvantaged groups—the aged, the illiterate, the developmentally and physical disabled, Aboriginal, and immigrant adults—in a manner denied to more formal agencies of education. It was the sector of education most used by women. (Johnson & Hinton, 1986) With this renewed and increased interested in adult education had come a growing concern for the education of adult educators. 'The present growth in adult education highlights the need for a major program for the training of adult educators' (Ministry of Education, NSW, 1986). The continuing development of adult educators, never before a principal concern of any of the major groups involved in adult education became a basic concern for many of them. The various interest groups may have turned their attention to the question of professional development for a variety of reasons—political, economic and organisational as well as educational. However, this did not necessarily detract from the potentiality of the professional development process to improve adult education.

In more recent years there have been numerous policy statements, reports on and enquiries into post compulsory education in Australia. These have included most notably *Australia Reconstructed* (1987), *Higher Education: A Policy Statement* (1989), *Training Cost of Award Restructuring* (1990, the *Finn Report* (1991, *Come on Cinderella* (1991), the *Carmichael Report* (1992), the two *Mayer* papers (1992 and 1993) and the *National Policy—Adult Community Education* (1993). All of these in one way or another addressed the question of the fundamental reform of Australia's education and training system. This concern was linked to the broader economic and social agenda of government. A central idea was that education, training and work should fit together more effectively so that the acquisition of knowledge and skills no matter where they occurred should be encouraged and recognised. Most importantly, for the purposes of this paper, adult education was increasingly being regarded as a significant contributor to post compulsory education in Australia. With this increasing emphasis has come an intensified interest in the professional education of adult educators—at the level of the governmental agency, the provider and the individual adult educator.

Characteristics Of Professional Education Programs For Adult Educators

Observers have identified two broad ways in which the professional education process can be approached—the higher education institution based and the field based. Both approaches, many educators of adult education believe, can have serious drawbacks. There can be a remoteness about institution-based programs. Field-based activities, though certainly relevant, can be little more than an adult 'show-and-tell'. Many programs of professional development for adult educators attempt to overcome these difficulties by adopting a field-focussed approach which these programs see as a synthesis of the institution-based and field-based approaches. These programs seek to combine the advantages, and minimise the disadvantages, of the institution-based and field-based models. The field-focussed approach emphasises meeting the specific and immediate needs of the individual adult educator in the context of his or her working environment by bringing to bear the resources of the program. This makes the development of a true sense of professional partnership between program staff and participants possible. One continuing criticism of programs of professional education has been that all participants were trained in the same way and all had to meet the same

requirements. In line with the best principles of adult education, these programs have sought to overcome this criticism. The identification of a number of 'areas of competence', which set the parameters of the program, can overcome this criticism. The adoption of such a model offers scope for the participant to complete a sequence of learning projects consistent with the program's overall aims yet relevant to that participant's personal and organisational needs. The, professional development of adult educators, like all real education, requires adaptation to meet individual needs. Adult educators vary enormously in terms of context, skill level, knowledge and personal attributes. Thus the fundamental principle undergirding many of these programs is the same as that of all really educative endeavours, that the single more important aspect is in the individual learner and where he or she is now.

The adoption of the above model of the professional education process—building upon the twin pillars of the field-focussed approach and the competence-based structure to produce a truly individualised learning program for each participant—dates in the case of some pioneering programs from the 1970s.

The general aim of these programs may be grouped into four broad areas. The first group addresses the development of competence in the practicalities of being an effective designer, implementer, manager and evaluator of educational activities for adults. The second group addresses development of competence in understanding the foundational and supporting disciplines which provide insight into the process of adult learning. The third group addresses the development of an informed perspective on the historical social, political and economic context of adult education both within Australia and internationally. The fourth group addresses the development of personal capacities as a self-directed learner and a personal stance on the nature and purposes of adult education.

ISSUES AND TENSIONS

The previous section has set out the details of the development and operation of a range of Australian programs of professional education for adult educators. In many matters of technical detail, these developmental processes and operational procedures are largely unique to each of the programs. However, in developing and operating these, each program's developers and staff have had to address a number of issues which have long exercised (and will continue to exercise) the minds of all educators of adults. Some of these issues are outlined below.

The Status of Adult Education as a Profession and the Nature of Professional Training

The 'Cinderella' status of adult education is often remarked upon, its marginality, its low status, and its invisibility as a distinctive sector of education despite its thousands of practitioners and hundreds of thousand of participants. At least part of this problem can be traced back to a lack of terminological clarity. As has been referred to previously, a huge number of terms are used to describe the field of practice and its practitioners from technical training through life skills to relationships education. The term adult educator has many meanings—teacher/tutor, organiser, programmer, administrator, adviser and counsellor to specify but a few. Adult education as a field of study also lacks terminological clarity—training, preparation, inservice, post service, staff development, continuing professional development and so on. In addition, of course, there is the continuing confusion in many peoples minds between adult education as a field of practice and as a field of study.

As the roles of the adult educator receive increasing recognition there is a growing demand for the professionalisation of what was previously dominated by missionary zeal and adherence to a clear ideological position—for example, from the idealism of workers' education to the pragmatism of trade union training. The western liberal adult education tradition has had a powerful missionary feeling about it. For those who firmly believe in the missionary credo, the voluntary spirit and real commitment, professional education often is regarded as largely irrelevant. For such people the selection of adult educators is more vital than professional education. Fox and Fordham (1986). Other adult educators, Carlson (1977) and Ohliger (1974) have urged caution. Some adult educators have seen professionalisation as a phenomenon which was not to be encouraged at all. However, Legge (1994) argues even the most inspired and devoted missionary type adult educator would benefit from a sound professional education. Wilson (1993) provides an excellent analysis of the way in which this process

has operated in North America since 1934 : basically the common concern has been to develop empirically based theory to guide practice. Wilson 's comments on Hallenbeck (1948) are also pertinent as a back-drop to the Australian scene: 'Hallenbeck argues that there are three elements in defining a profession: a body of knowledge, specific training, and jobs. With respect to the body of knowledge, Hallenbeck proposes that history and philosophy of adult education, adult psychology and learning. methods and materials, and program administration be the central topics in training adult educators (these have been typical adult education courses in colleges and universities in the 1930s; clearly they have remained so since).' (p 7).

Recently in Australia there has been an acknowledge-ment that professionals require lifelong learning skills and that undergraduate programs should aim to develop such skills. Candy (1994) identifies five basic characteristics of courses which enhance lifelong learning : 1) they provide a systematic introduction to the field of study 2) they offer a comparative or contextual framework for viewing the field of study 3) they seek to broaden the student and provide generic skills 4) they offer some freedom of choice and flexibility in structure and 5) they provide for the incremental development of self-directed learning. As outlined earlier in this paper, many of the programs for the professional development of adult educators are at the undergraduate level and this presents a broader challenge in the university training of adult educators.

The Perceived Tension Between Academic Knowl-edge And Professional Knowledge

Even when it is agreed that some kind of professional education is needed, what form should that education take? As Fox and Fordham (1986) argue there will always be a tension between academic respectability as defined by university traditions and professional relevance as measured against the field of practice. Many full-time adult educators, even the so called leaders in the field cannot see the need for formal qualifications in adult education preferring to rely on the formal qualifications gained in their first occupation. Sometimes this has been supplemented by short quite specific non-award training programs. There is, according to these practitioners, little evidence that formal professional education makes any difference in performance. Indeed, some argue that any fair observer would have to agree that very few award bearing courses manage to achieve an appropriate balance of intellectual and practical skills to match the professional work of the practitioner (Fox and Fordham, 1986).

It is in this context that the recent debate about the nature of competency based education in Australia (and other English speaking countries) may be instructive. Many eminent educationalists (e.g. Collins 1991, Newman 1995) have attacked the competency movement as being technicist, mechanistic, reductionist atheoretical and so on. These arguments are correct if one takes a certain view of the nature of competence- that it consists of the capacity to undertake certain tasks associated with a particular occupation. However as has been pointed out before (Gonczi1994), this is only one possible view of the nature of competence. If one takes the integrated/holistic view of competence as more conceptually satisfying, it provides the basis for overcoming the dichotomy between the practical and theoretical (between knowing 'how' and knowing 'that') which has been a key tenant of educational thinking, in english speaking countries at least, for a very long time. This 'integrated' view asserts that competence consists of the application in particular contexts of an individual's underlying attributes, (knowledge, skills attitudes and values). In this view competence is conceived of as relational- it brings together dispirate things, individual attributes and contexts. A person is competent if they can bring together complex combinations of knowledges values attitudes and skills in an appropriate way in the contexts that s/he is required to act.

The implications of this approach to initial professional educational or the professional development of adult educators is profound. Currently the typical preparation of a professional has three aspects : The development of general, assumed to be generalisable, knowledge, development of professional knowledge and experience on the job. There is a great deal of variability as to how well these aspects are integrated in educational programs. While there has been recently a good deal of interest in the role of the practicum(the experience aspect) and how it can be related to the other stages there is still a good deal to be learnt about how to bring these aspects together into a coherent whole. I don't think it is unfair to

suggest that most universities have put their emphasis on the first two of these aspects and assumed that the mere **provision** of experience will enable the student to make the connections between theory and the world of practice.

The implications of the integrated approach to competence outlined earlier, is that curriculum should aim to integrate the three aspects of professional preparation into a coherent whole. There are many ways in which this might be done. One way is through a problem based curriculum, which is now well established in a range of fields of professional practice and a large number of universities internationally.

Such a problem based approach is supported by recent research in the area of cognitive psychology [see for example Brown et al, (1989), Lave (1988), Prawat (1993)]. There is no room to analyse this literature here, but in summary, research in learning theory over the last 6 or 7 years has increasingly undermined the generally accepted view that there is a useful separation between knowing and doing. This axiom has been the basis of the teaching of abstract decontextualised concepts in secondary education curriculum for a very long time. I has also been, the basis of the separation of theory and practice in vocational curricula. That is, it has been almost universally accepted that in order to be able to understand, students need to be taught abstract concepts before and distinct from the context in which these concepts might be applied. However evidence has been building up which suggests that learning and cognition are fundamentally contextual or "stuated". That is, understanding develops through students engaging in the social and physical context. This social-conscriptionist view of learning is fast becoming the orthodoxy in learning theory.
The research which is currently being undertaken in this area has taken a long time to come to influence educational practice. The first theorist of this situated approach to learning was the Russian, Vigotsky, in the 1930s who based his work on the pioneering work of Piaget. Today the implications of a cognitive apprenticeship model for school education is being widely debated and explored.

By contrast to some form of 'authentic' learning, traditional courses typically cover a narrow range of practice, assess acquired knowledge, rarely assesses practical skills, ignore the attitudes needed for good professional practice. That is, they are not based on good learning theory and do not produce the attributes that are required for competent practice.

There are presumably many other ways of developing a coherent integrated curriculum competency based curriculum. (See Prawat,1993). The important thing that these curriculum methods will have in common, in contrast to a behaviourist curriculum, is that they will not be directly developing competencies as outlined in a set of competency standards. The competency standards will be the backdrop to the curriculum.
As Bowden and Masters (1993) have shown in their study of the implications of the competency approach to education and training to higher education, many of the original fears of the universities about the competency movement in Australia were unfounded. They point out that the competency approach leaves open the possibility of greater cooperation between universities and professional association and greater thought being given to the relationship between professional practice and discipline based knowledge.

In fact over the last two years a number of universities have included competency based approaches in some of their courses. This is the case in aspects of veterinary science and radiography, speech therapy, dietetics, nursing , teacher education (including the preparation of adult educators.

Thus, in Australia, as elsewhere, there are ongoing debates about what constitutes knowledge for the adult educator. Indeed there is a growing recognition in the higher education sector, especially in education for the professions, of the notion of workplace knowledge, or, as some refer to it, 'tacit' knowledge. The recognition of tacit knowledge immediately challenges the traditional theory-practice relationship which has arguably been dominant in guiding the training of adult educators (i.e. that theoretical concepts or principles are learned and then applied to practice). Because tacit knowledge arises from practice, adult educators need to be able to analyse their practice in order to build their knowledge base. The focus of theory in adult education, then, is to assist educators to reflect on and analyse their practice. Collins (1991) expresses this point of view: thought and understanding of theoretical constructions is important to any serious vocational endeavour, it is

more efficacious to think in terms of engaging thoughtfully with theory and, then, putting *ourselves* in to practice. In other words, serious engagement with theoretical models improves our potential as reflective practitioners, which in turn manifests itself in actual performance'. (p 47). But what sort of theory is useful for this purpose? Collins identifies social theorists such as Alfred Schutz, Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci, Rosa Luxemburg, and John Rawls. There is considerable contention about the usefulness of different theories, but this contention aside, there remains the issue of how such theoretical frameworks should be treated in a program for adult educators. For example, how to insert the adult education context in the treatment of such general theoretical approaches and how to ensure that the theoretical approaches themselves are subjected to critical scrutiny.

Credentialism And The New Vocationalism

But all of these disputes may soon disappear. The patchy and erratic provision of professional education for adult educators may soon be a thing of the past. But this will not be the result of the achievement of any widespread consensus within the profession but of pressures from largely outside the field. Adult further, continuing and community education is rapidly changing to meet the new vocational education and training thrust. Two important aspects of this thrust are the concepts of credit transfer and recognition of prior learning. Full credit for previous study is more easily achieved when it can be shown that the adult educator (community and/or work based) holds equivalent academic/ professional qualifications to the TAFE teacher. Changes in the ways that post-compulsory education is delivered also affects this trend toward acceptance of formal professional qualifications. The church welfare group tendering for a labour market program in competition with the local TAFE College wants to be able to show that its teaching staff have similar capacities. The easiest way to do this is through formal qualifications. These changes may well mean that the old understandings and longstanding distinctions in the field may well disappear in the coming years.

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COMING TO GRIPS WITH COMPLEXITY

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Synopsis

This paper discusses an approach to the professional education of adult educators, developed in a number of undergraduate and postgraduate courses[1], at the University of Technology in Sydney, Australia. The approach aims to help adult educators both to analyse the complexities of their work and to devise ways of acting that are both effective and congruent with their values. The paper begins by describing this teaching approach. Through an examination of student writing and course evaluations an attempt is then made to evaluate what students learn in the courses. It is then argued that particular literatures in adult education and associated fields of study contribute to the emergence of the sort of critical thinking about their work that the courses aim to elicit in students. The paper concludes by noting that changes in the political economy make it increasingly difficult to teach in the way described here.

The Teaching Approach[2]

The course is based on a particular view of professional education, which is put to students at the beginning of each course, in something like the following terms:

> For many years professional education in most fields, including education, was based on a 'front end loading' model. In this approach, professionals were taught the knowledge, skills and attitudes they were thought to need before they began to practice. The competent among these new professionals, it was argued, would then apply the theory they had been taught in practical situations.
>
> Experienced practitioners know that the actual world of practice does not work in this way. Real work situations are complex and fluid: they do not sit and wait for theories to be applied to them. As Donald Schön (1983) pointed out we need a different model of professional education, one that focuses on the ways in which practitioners think and act in actual work situations. This 'practitioner-centred' model puts the practitioner and the complex contexts in which she works at the centre of analysis. It is this view of professional education which has been adopted in this course. The course will introduce learners to a lot of new knowledge about adult education and training. Learners will be invited to test this new knowledge against their existing understanding. For each learner, some of the new knowledge will be illuminating, while other aspects will be less helpful. Overall, however, the course is intended to help adult educators working in a diversity of settings to develop their understanding of their work.
>
> This practitioner-centred model of professional education assumes that adult educators and other practitioners are active thinkers who are continually trying to make sense of their work. The model also assumes that adult educators are active readers, that they will read critically, taking in what is of interest to them, and discarding what is not. Underpinning these assumptions about how practitioners think and read is a particular view of practice and its relationship with theory.

There then follows an exposition of Usher and Bryant's (1989) distinction between formal and informal theory, Polanyi's (notion of tacit knowledge, and Schon's (1983, 1987) and Boud and his colleagues' (1991, 1993) work on reflection. Students are told that the course aims to help them to surface their work-related tacit knowledge and informal theories, and to enrich and extend their thinking through encounter with formal theory. The student is then given a taste of what is to come in the course by being introduced to a table setting out

'schools of thought' in adult education and training, and two figures representing the relationship of adult education practice to various disciplines and theoretical perspectives.

The point is then made that behind different schools of thought in education there are radically different views of how knowledge is discovered and used. There then follows an exposition of the concepts of paradigm and knowledge-interest as they apply to adult education and training. These concepts are then elaborated through an examination of the core literatures of adult education and training: teaching, program development and program evaluation. The literatures of teaching often occupy us for some weeks: they are large and diverse, and most adult educators have a fascination with teaching. We then consider aspects of the social context of adult education. In recent years the focus has been on economic and workplace 'restructuring' and their relationship to adult education and learning.

Verbal presentations by the lecturer are always followed by discussion of the issues raised, and by reading. Five or six thick volumes of readings, covering a range of topics and theoretical positions are distributed to students. Some of these readings are central, and students are expected to read them. Focus questions are provided for this material, which is read between classes and discussed in a subsequent session. Students are encouraged to choose among the remaining readings according to their own interests. Some time is also spent in discussing reading purposes and strategies.

The course only has twenty-six hours of class time, arranged either in thirteen by two hour seminars or two by two day sessions. Students are expected to spend considerable additional time in independent study comprising the focused reading referred to in the preceding paragraph, and written assignments. The form of assessment adopted in the course is integral to the learning process. Students (all of whom are practicing adult educators) work on assignments which arise from their work and interests. These assignments comprise **either**: an experiential essay on an aspect adult education or learning, followed by a literature review which explores issues raised in the experiential essay; **or** a case study of an adult education/learning issue. Particular attention is paid to helping students to become more conscious and proficient writers. Connections are made between writing and learning. Writing, students are told, is a learned skill; and writing **is** learning. The importance of drafting and redrafting is stressed. Detailed written feedback is given on all assignments. The first feedback, on the experiential essay or the first draft of a case study, comes about halfway through the course. The second lot of feedback, on the literature review, or the second draft of the case study, comes towards the end of the course. At the beginning of the course students receive a compilation of feedback on previous students' writing, couched in the form of 'tips' on reading, expression, structure and argument. The booklet in which these tips appear also contains the assignment outline, ideas about reading, note-taking and giving and receiving feedback, as well as titles and Dewey numbers of relevant library indexes and journals.

Student Writing

The diversity of subject matter in students' writing is striking. In one group, students wrote about the following issues (the titles of papers are the students' own): retraining and empowerment, organisational learning in hard times, action method and experiential learning, assessment of learner needs, the facilitator in the organisation, perspective transformation and conscientisation, learner motivation, the paradox of empowerment, adult learning and self-managed teams, emancipatory education and learning, critical thinking and workplace learning, the learning organisation, popular education, gender and learning, cross-cultural education, education in workplace restructuring, ameliorating management patriarchy.

The following detailed discussion of two students' work gives a sense of what students learn through their writing, and how the students' writing connects with the course aims and content.

Susan is a communication teacher in a city TAFE (technical and further education) college. In her experiential essay she wrote about the social and educational dynamic of 'Group 39', a class of adolescent clerical trainees. On the first day of the course,

> As I approached the classroom it was already evident that an 'in-group' had formed. There was

one chair in the corridor, and sitting on it was Lisa, talking animatedly to the five or six students just standing without any interaction, waiting. Their eyes and body language showed their lack of interest and enthusiasm for the experience ahead.

Lisa soon emerged as the leader of the seven 'beautiful people' in the group, while another four students constituted an 'out-group'. 'Already, it seemed, the students had classified themselves and others into the 'ins' and the 'outs'—those who would succeed and be popular, and those who would struggle both with the course content and with relationships.' In her brief paper, Susan traces the development of the group over two and a half months. During this time the group of seven flourished both socially and educationally. The group of four soon fell behind the pace of learning set by the seven and became progressively more withdrawn. By the end of the ten weeks one of the four had withdrawn from the course, another was skipping classes, a third was expressing distress about the dynamics of the class and the fourth was having difficulties at work.

Susan painted a vivid and disturbing picture of the marginalisation of the group of four. Her paper was reminiscent of the ethnographic classroom study included in the course reader [3]. At the end of her paper, under the heading 'Thin Analysis'[4], Susan listed questions raised by her mini-ethnography. As she recognised, the questions raised many more issues than she would be able to deal with in a single literature review. She opted to examine the group dynamics literature, posing the question: 'Is there something in group dynamics theory that would enable teachers and students to understand group roles, and would that understanding empower students to break the pattern?' I responded to Susan in the following way:

> The questions you pose are all useful. Perhaps underlying them all are two basic questions: Why are the four the way they are? and: How to break their withdrawn pattern of classroom behaviour? To answer the first question in any meaningful way I think you would need to know more about the life and educational experiences of the four students. I suspect that, without this knowledge, you would search the group dynamics literature in vain for the 'something that would enable teachers and students to understand group roles.' I might be wrong, and if you want to try, go ahead.
>
> Another tack you could take is as follows. Get the video 'Stand and Deliver' and watch it. What is the pattern there, and how is it broken? Are there any lessons for your situation? Now look for other examples of teachers breaking through difficult situations. Look again at Head (1977) and Lovett (1975, Chapter 5) in Volume 2 of the readings. But you may well find more in teachers' accounts of working with difficult adolescents—see the works by Dennison, Herndon, Kohl, Kozol, Mackenzie and Searle in the bibliography of the enclosed book (Wright, 1989). Chapters 8 and 9 of Wright may also be worth reading.

Within a month, much sooner than she needed to meet the course requirements, Susan submitted a second paper. This began with a summary of the dynamics of Group 39. She then posed what she saw as the central problem: the group had 'wounded hearts and minds'.

> How they became damaged, what experiences in homes and schools had caused this wounding, and what could be done to prevent such damage to other students were all issues beyond the scope of this paper. Of importance to me was what could be done now, at TAFE, to help heal the wounds, so these students could participate with confidence and enjoyment in their off-the-job learning.

Susan had delimited the issue to be investigated. She would examine 'the problem of some students seeming destined for failure', and look at 'ways this pattern could be broken in the classroom.' She would do this by 'reviewing some relevant literature and searching for parallels' in other similar courses. 'This method is appropriate, because ... practitioners do not apply principles, they try to think their way through complex and ambiguous situations.'

In her literature review Susan focuses on motivation of learners, seeing it as (and here she quotes Wright, 1989, p. 125) 'the most powerful determinant of learning.' Teachers, Susan argues, must find ways of motivating students, even in seemingly impossible situations. She then looks at how some teachers have done this: Jaime Escalante teaching maths to

Hispanic adolescents in Los Angeles, Mackenzie's experiential education in a Scottish mining town, Herbert Kohl's open classroom in New York. Susan also draws lessons from the negative experiences of teachers—a failed experiment in progressive education in Boston (Kozol, 1968), an aborted attempt at experiential education in England (Head, 1974). Susan draws a rich set of ideas for action (note: ideas for action, not strategies, and certainly not formulas) from her reading, including: the difference a determined teacher can make; the importance of teachers recognising and using their expertise; the need for teachers to expect much from students and to make those expectations clear; the space that a supportive supervisor can make for an innovative teacher; the necessity of structure and clarity in teaching; the role of students in facilitating each others' learning; the vital role of love in teaching.

Experiential essays are often deeply felt. Students are encouraged to express their feelings. But analysis is also expected—in both the experiential essay and the literature review. Kevin, a head teacher of mechanical engineering in a large suburban TAFE college, wrote in his experiential essay about his desire to encourage more critical approaches to teaching among his staff. Kevin identified numerous factors that inhibited the emergence of critical pedagogies in his college: a tradition of instrumental and teacher-oriented pedagogy in the subject; a behaviourist and technicist curriculum, exacerbated by a recent national push towards competency-based training; resource limitations; a diverse student body. Embedded in the paper there were also ideas for action, drawn from Kevin's experience and reading, These included: the need to redistribute teaching functions so that students could assume more autonomy in and responsibility for their learning; the potential of process-oriented curriculum; the need to lobby regional and local administrators for resources.

Also embedded in the paper were interesting reflections by Kevin on how his working class background had shaped his own educational history:

> I attended public school in the outer west of Sydney, left school at fifteen because my father, a subcontracting carpenter, had fallen from the roof the previous year and had no insurance and my performance at school was falling, even though I was always in the top 'technical' classes. I was judged 'good with my hands'; I now take this to be a euphemism for 'doesn't read well, or very much,' or has no reading role model.'

Kevin became an apprentice, completed his trade certificate and started another certificate in mechanical engineering 'because most other apprentices at Hoover had done so but I had also begun to fight working as a toolmaker, three nights and Saturdays (for decent money) under hot uninsulated factory roofs, starting before dawn and finishing after sunlight.' The Labour government of Gough Whitlam came to power, abolished university fees and Kevin 'was able to start a degree in 1974, as a twenty-seven year old with a wife and two kids. We survived with a bit of work and a tertiary allowance.' Now Kevin looks back on the 'many redundancies' in his engineering education:

> For example, fourth year of Fitting and Machining was largely 'gear cutting.' I may have cut one small plastic gear in my entire career since that time. I am left with the feeling that much engineering education that we engineering teachers offer is offered (a) because that is what was taught to us, and (b) because we don't know what else to teach. Any critical thought that I may have had was introspective, for example: 'Why am I not inspired by the intrinsic elegance of machining tool steel into shape?'

Two things struck me about Kevin's paper. First, there was the clarity of his educational goals and values (Kevin's desire to move from an instrumental approach to engineering education to an interpretive and critical approach; his clear sense of who he is working for—other working class people). Second, his paper conveyed a sense of complexity, of multiple factors which needed to be thought through and connected in some way before they could be acted on. In responding to Kevin's paper I pointed to some aspects which required clarification or development and suggested further reading (on problem-based learning, and on the political economy and sociology of the suburban region where Kevin grew up and now works). I also suggested that he devise a one page 'mind map' drawing together the disparate issues canvassed in his paper.

A week later I received a fax of five mind maps, four summarising issues and possible strategies relating

to students, teachers, curriculum and administration, and a fifth representing the links between these four variables and Kevin's teaching unit. Soon afterwards we discussed the diagrams. A month later Kevin submitted a second paper which linked the issues raised in his writing in this course to the major action research project he was also doing as part of his degree. This second paper made a connection between the theme of his action research project—the development of a holistic approach to engineering curriculum—and his desire to promote more critical approaches to teaching engineering. The body of the paper was brief, raising issues for further thought and action rather than developing an argument. The real substance of the paper was in its four appendices, comprising: a refined version of the mind maps, a discussion of the western suburbs social milieu and its implications for education, notes towards a critical engineering pedagogy, and a discussion of problem-based learning.

Assessment

Compared with Susan's papers, Kevin's were more open and less conventionally 'academic'. It is important for me that students be able to write in a variety of ways. Here the form of student assessment becomes important. I would have found it difficult to award a mark to Kevin's work if I had been required to do so. But with the criterion referenced form of assessment that we use in our courses I could unequivocally pass Kevin, for his work clearly fulfilled all the set assessment criteria, namely:

- rigour and inventiveness of analysis (In other words, you need to do more than describe what happened. You also need to explain what happened, in a way that makes sense and is based on evidence.)
- relevance of your analysis to further action (Your analysis should indicate if there are ways of overcoming problems you have identified. Where it makes sense to do so, you should suggest changes, and ways of putting them into practice.)
- organisation of paper (Is your paper well organised? Does it have an introduction, a developing argument, and a conclusion?)
- clarity of expression
- integration of your own research with reading (Have you shown that you have done some reading which throws light on the issues raised by the data you have collected?)
- use of accepted referencing procedures

More importantly, this form of assessment allows teachers to address students' on-going learning. So in Kevin's case I could tell him that I thought his papers had laid a useful foundation for a continuing analysis of the complexities of his work. I also said that I would be interested to hear about the outcomes of his efforts to shift his colleagues to a more critical teaching stance. A few weeks later I received a 'progress report' from Kevin which indicated that he is reaching an accommodation with his more instrumentalist colleagues. He has conceded the need to teach students basic engineering skills in the first year of the course. In return Kevin's colleagues are becoming more amenable to his arguments for critical teaching in later stages of the course.

Learning

Evaluations of university courses tend to measure student satisfaction, rather than make judgements about what students have learned, how they apply that learning or the social impact of the learning. In this section I hope to paint a broader than usual picture of the nature of student learning in the courses under consideration.

Responses to surveys show that for students the most satisfying aspects of the courses are:

- The opportunity to think issues through.
- The opportunity to write from one's own experience, and then to deepen understanding of that experience through further reflection, reading and writing.
- The provision of a framework for analysing the relationship of practice and theory.
- Recognition of the contextual nature of adult education.
- Exposure to critical frameworks.
- The pluralist approach.
- The breadth of content.
- The amount and quality of reading provided and recommended.
- Learning about reading, writing and thinking.
- Balance of lecturer input, small group discussion and individual reading and writing.
- Clear course structure and expectations.
- Congruence of subject matter and teaching styles.

Evaluations over four years using various forms of survey instrument, have been strongly positive. In the past year, to try to get more information about what students learn in the courses, I have provided a blank page and asked students to respond to the following question:

> Please describe what you think this subject is about. One way of doing this would be to imagine you are telling a friend or colleague the sorts of things the lecturer was trying to teach and wanted you to learn in the subject.

Student answers indicate they have grasped the conceptual framework and the intention of the course: the dialectical relationship of practice and theory, and of practical and formal theory; the complex, contextual and contested nature of adult education practice; the distinctions between educational paradigms; the desire to introduce students to the literature of adult education and to encourage them to become more aware of, and to self-consciously develop, their own theoretical frameworks. This data, of course, say nothing about the extent to which students have internalised and might apply these concepts and intentions. However, some sample responses show that students can certainly **articulate** what they think they have learned:

> The scope of adult education is big. I mean really big. The writings on this subject are extensive and encompass much more than you would imagine. Teaching, learning, styles of both, politics, who' s in charge (of learning), places to learn, what to learn, liberal education, curriculum, workplace learning, informal learning, gender bias, emancipatory practice, techniques, interventions, assessment, empowerment, facilitation, experiential learning, restructuring .....

> [The course is about] the relationship between theory and practice in adult education—what **theory** says that relationship is—what **our experience** says that relationship is—the complexity of the relationship—how the relationship has been seen historically—emphasising that the relationship exists in a much larger social/political/economic context which cannot be divorced from the theory or the practice.

> This subject is about presenting different perspectives on education practice and theory in order to promote discussion, wider thinking about theoretical and practical issues facing adult educators and what we might choose to do about them. It is also about searching for meaning in what we do, whether by reflecting about our own learning theories or practice, or by researching the field which interests us to discover what other educators and researchers have valued, pondered, devised and embraced, in order to critique their views and findings and to search for relations to our own theories in action.

> This subject ... provides a framework from which to view theories in our work without prescribing any one approach ... It includes the opportunity to reflect on our own practice and do this in the company of others whose reflections may differ from our own thus expanding our view.

> Formulaic strategies that advocate 'several steps' to success rarely work because they are espoused without any connection to the concrete reality of a local situation.

> Emphasis on reality, concrete examples rather than abstract theory. Testing theory against experience—does it help explain our view of reality?
> In the area of concepts the idea of **contestation** theory allowed a few pennies to drop into place. The concept of using **spaces** within the system is also terrific, as well as the critical reflection of Freire, etc.

> Highlighting the value of informal learning.

> What I learned is that I take a technical view in many instances but I work in an area where there is a great need for an interpretive approach. Thus I am slowly challenging and changing my work practices to move away from objective truth and look more at subjective reality, dealing with messiness and complexity.

> Involving workers in participatory processes is best for adults learning, changing, restructuring.

> Learning as liberation (emancipation from

hierarchical models of education and thinking) was a particular emphasis.

Liberation and domination—Domination occurs in many aspects of education and workplace and society. Liberation cannot occur at the expense of someone else's domination.

Evaluations also show students becoming engaged by and excited about reading, thinking and writing:

The richness—I've really enjoyed the way you draw on an incredibly wide range of stuff across a heap of fields and throw it at us to make what we want of if we're interested. And the political context of everything. And the constant touching with reality. This subject is what I really wanted from this program—opportunity to stand back and think, rather than writing meaningless essays.

In particular, my eyes were opened to the power of experiential essay writing—i.e. talks about real experiences, concrete things.

An opportunity to learn how to write in such a way that you position yourself at the fore of any piece, not as a passive reviewer/recipient of the literature.

I particularly enjoyed the writing assignment—the freedom to write then read, then write again about something that really interested me was incredible. It took me a while to grasp that the freedom really existed!

There were two things that the subject was about. Firstly, it was about writing, and I think this is Griff's secret passion—probably more than the educational theory stuff—to help us to think about our writing, and to become more critical about it and better at it. Secondly, there was the theoretical stuff. I guess, in a nutshell, the message is that our work as educators is not something to be seen in isolation—there is always a context and a range of tensions and pressures. The challenge was for us to develop a sense of our theoretical framework, and to place our practice (informal theory) inside a framework that works for us (formal theory). Griff gave us a smorgasbord of material in the reading to dip into at our leisure and as our interest dictated. The first block [of classes] was about exploring three theoretical paradigms—the technical (transmission), interpretive (interpersonal) and critical (collective). The second block used the topic of workplace restructuring as a tool for unpacking the paradigms and exploring our own theoretical frameworks.

One of the best parts of this course is the congruence between the subject matter and the teaching styles—I really feel treated like an adult and respected, yet have been challenged by the content and assignment work.

In these evaluations and in students' writing, one can see that students are coming to grips intellectually with the complexities of adult education practice. What is more, most of them appear not to be depressed or paralysed by their insights. Rather, they show signs of being excited by their emerging understanding of the complexities of their work, and developing more determined and realistic ways of thinking about and acting on their situations. They also seem to become clearer about their educational goals and values. This in turn I suspect, but have not yet established, frees them to act.

Literatures

And what are these complexities that I hope my students will grasp? Or, rather, what are the **representations** of these complexities that are put in front of students, to inform and challenge them? There are, in adult education and associated literatures, two kinds of work to which we can turn. First, there are the important works of synthesis and theory in the adult education literature. I think here of such writers as Brookfield (1986, 1989, 1990), Hart (1992), Candy (1991), Collins (1991) and Newman (1994). Second, there are case studies, although 'case study' is too bare a term to capture the richness and conceptual strength of the sort of writing I am thinking of. The quality of this writing is encapsulated in Clifford Geertz's (1988, 1993) memorable pairing of 'thick description' and 'close analysis', and his notion that such writing gives the reader the sense of 'being there'. In the adult education literature I always think first of two long papers by David Head (1977, 1978), the one on doing adult education with London street people, the other an evaluation of learning in a London community

centre. The first of these papers, is I think, a model of detailed description and rigorous and courageous analysis, from its unforgettable opening challenge ('Education is invasion') to its seventh footnote directing the reader to Raymond Williams' (1961, pp 312-320) profound distinction between 'service' and 'solidarity'. Head's second paper is an apparently discursive ramble through the Learning Workshop of the Allfarthing Community Centre. This paper frequently loses people on the first reading. But reread, the powerful argument and careful construction of the paper emerge.

There is, of course, much else of this ilk in adult education, school education, sociology, anthropology and history. In adult education there are, for example, Tom Lovett's and his colleagues' (1975, 1983) participant-observation studies of community adult education in Liverpool and Ulster, the growing body of work on Highlander (for example, Adams, 1975, Horton, Kohl & Kohl 1990, Zacharakis-Jutz 1993), Jane Thompson's (1983) account of her work with women in Southhampton, Gowen's (1991) study of literacy teaching and worker learning in a US hospital, and Mike Newman's (1979, 1993) reflections on community adult education in London and trade union education in Australia. In school education there is a much larger body of work, much of which can be found either appearing or reviewed in the *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. Four studies to which I keep returning are Paul Willis's (1978) and Jean Anyon's (1983) accounts of adolescent resistance in school, Connell and his colleagues (1982) study of the relationship of class, gender and education, and Ray Rist's (1970) account of the interaction of class and race in a Harlem kindergarten. In sociology and anthropology there is work like Sallie Westwood's (1984) study of gender, power and learning in a factory in the English midlands, Sennett and Cobbs' (1973) argument about the psychological injury sustained by working class men in the US, and Andrew Metcalfe's (1988) study of miners' struggle for dignity in the coalfields of the Hunter Valley in Australia. Metcalfe's book is as much a social history as an ethnography, and this directs our attention to the insights that can be gained into adult education and learning from the historical literatures, and from associated fields like cultural studies and media studies.

This, of course is a personal list, as any individual's must be. The point to take from it is that there is all sorts of work, in the social and even the natural sciences[5], which can illuminate adult education and learning. I have found it very rewarding to point this out to students and to witness their excitement as they discover their own treasures, the books and articles that move their thinking beyond where it was before. In doing this I am always careful to point out to students that it is important that they search out work that speaks to **them**.

Our White Teeth, or Real Teaching?

Complexity determines my teaching, too. As I have developed the approach to teaching discussed in this paper, other activities—research, writing, administration—have made it harder for me to find time for teaching. While this is a perennial problem for university teachers, in our time it has taken on a sharper edge. The attempt of countries like Australia to find a place in a restructuring world economy has caught all workers in a productivity squeeze. In this new order, more is now demanded of all workers, and university teachers have a particular set of difficulties, generated by a mixture of factors—the career structure of universities, which rewards individual effort, encourages competition and discourages real collaborative work; the hierarchical authority structure and authoritarian ethos of universities, which work against effective critique of dominant practices; the middle class background and experience of most university teachers, which leaves them psychologically vulnerable to management pressure and industrially ignorant and weak; and, university teachers' deep interest in, and measure of control over, their work, which paradoxically makes them liable to exploitation and self-exploitation. This combination of factors makes it increasingly difficult to teach in the very labour intensive way described here.

We teachers need to make the sort of demand that the American actor William Hurt makes of his employers:

> Hurt's contracts stipulate that, above everything, he be given adequate rehearsal time and a ten-hour limit to the working day. "A carpenter needs a little bit of time to build a house, and I need as little bit of time to build a character", said Hurt. "All you want to do is your work. And all they want is for you to jump out of the box with your

white teeth! On The *Plague* they promised six weeks rehearsal time and they lied!" [*Sydney Morning Herald*, 18/2/95]

The Plague was never released, no doubt because Hurt would not tolerate the erosion of his working conditions. Few academics have this degree of personal power. Our resistance has to be collective. Unless we together stand up for our rights as workers we will not be a position to teach effectively.

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[1] I will use the terms 'courses' and 'programs' here. In Australian universities the common terms are 'subjects' and 'courses'.

[2] For elaboration of the points made in this section, see Foley (1995), Chapters 1 & 3.

[3] A detailed summary of Willis, 1978. In class, student were also given a detailed verbal account of Rist, 1970.

[4] A play on Geertz's 'thick description, close analysis' distinction, referred to below. Susan was being unnecessarily diffident: her analysis, in the form of questions requiring further investigation, was perspicacious and in no way 'thin'.

[5] Speaking recently to a colleague about the complexity of adult education practice, I learned that there is a body of literature on complexity in biology and related fields.

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ADULT EDUCATION IN ANTI-NUCLEAR ADVOCACY

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As the new millennium approaches many citizen's groups continue to challenge nuclear industry expansion as a technology that dominates humankind. This paper analyzes one citizen group's work to educate a technologically literate citizenry capable of challenging uranium mine development. It reviews an Inter-Church Uranium Committee Education Cooperative (ICUCEC) project to help citizens prepare and present submissions to a federal-provincial review panel which considered proposals to open six uranium mines at three sites in Saskatchewan, Canada. The cooperative spearheaded the formation of a Coalition of provincial groups to construct a support infrastructure that invited speakers to provide international perspectives on uranium mining related issues, through contracted expert assistance to analyze technical issues in the industry's Environmental Impact Statements (EIS), to problematize issues and formulate critical themes for citizen consideration that were distributed through resource packages, and to provide logistical support for citizens to present submissions to an assessment panel.

ICUCEC was established in 1980 after church and citizen groups opposed construction of a uranium hexaflouride refinery near Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada. Its membership, based ecumenically in Christian Churches, engages in research, education and political lobbying to establish a moratorium on uranium mining. Over the years, it has organised conferences, campaigned on uranium mining related issues, participated in public hearings on uranium mining projects, published materials, and engaged in other activities to contest and oppose the development of uranium mining in Saskatchewan.

The committee's project is examined here through Fleming's theory of technological literacy that people can become *empowered* by examining costs, benefits and social forces driving technological developments (Fleming 394). Fleming views technologies as socio-technical systems of manufacture and use, well beyond the worn-out notions of technology as hardware and know-how. Technological literacy, in this view, consists of creating critical and imaginative understandings of socio-technical systems of manufacture and use through writing. Fleming recommends three educational implications for teaching technological literacy. First, education must allow participants to view technologies as socio-technical systems of manufacture and use. Second, education must allow learners to understand the unique knowing that technological knowledge is not simply applied science. Third, to overcome citizens impotence in democratic societies where technological developments are proposed, education must advance the citizen as"decision-maker."

This examination of ICUCEC's work reveals that while citizen empowerment through technological literacy may be significant, it is, nevertheless, limited. It shows that through education for technological literacy in this project empowered citizen to prepare and submit papers to an environmental assessment hearing which significantly affected the assessment panel's recommendations, government decisions in response to the panel only partially reflected citizen views. Within the overall federal provincial government framework for assessing proposals to mine uranium, uranium mining companies can keep returning with proposals to advance their projects. Analysis supports the contention that within a democracy where transnational corporations have a considerable power of advocacy in relation to political parties, civil society and state interests, the empowerment of citizens' groups through technological literacy may forward critical understanding and generate oppositional possibilities but it does not

fundamentally alter the corporate power structure nor the technologies they challenge.

This paper locates ICUCEC's work in the current consolidation, expansion and diversification of uranium mining corporations in Saskatchewan, then reviews the politics of public hearings where citizens groups scrutinise environmental impact statements prepared by corporate experts for submission to environmental assessment panels. Before outlining ICUCEC's work to assist citizens address one such panel, Fleming's theory of technological literacy with its three implications for education are presented. The next section reviews ICUCEC's anti-nuclear advocacy work to facilitate education for technological literacy for citizens who want to present submissions to a federal provincial assessment panel. To conclude, the paper review's the limits of empowerment through technological literacy.

Uranium Mining in Saskatchewan: Public Consent

Although uranium mining first began in Saskatchewan in 1953, and shipments continued from there for weapons purposes in the United States until the late 1960's, only in the 1970's did uranium mining have to be publicly defended. Since that time, the nuclear industry has worked to make uranium mining politically secure. To secure public consent for uranium mining to continue, the industry has established important relationships with Saskatchewan's educational institutions as part of a much broader set of public relations strategies which include garnering the support of political parties as well as sectors of civil society (Regnier, 1987, 1989, 1993a, 1993b). New uranium projects require broad-based and long-term public support to sustain nuclear expansion strategies and to ensure that government will design and construct favourable environmental regulations, provide economic support for, and politically legitimate, project development. In Saskatchewan, governments have used public inquiries and hearings to advance mining projects and assure the public that potentially unsafe and uneconomical projects do not proceed.

In 1992 and 1993, uranium mining companies have presented Environmental Impact Studies for four projects to two Environmental Assessment Review Panels. The first EIS (Cameco and Uranerz, 1992) was examined by a provincially appointed panel to consider a proposal for an expansion of the Rabbit Lake mine in northern Saskatchewan. A panel appointed jointly by the governments of Canada and of Saskatchewan considered three separate EIS's (Amok Ltd., 1992; Minatco Ltd. 1991; Midwest Joint Venture, 1991) for an addition of one mine site to the Cluff Lake Uranium mine, five additional mine sites at McLean Lake, and the development of new mine site at South McMahon Lake. As a result of these reviews, the panels recommended approval of only two of ten sites considered and rejected eight for immediate development. The provincial government approved all mine sites except Midwest Joint Venture. The provincial government then approved nine of the ten sites. In the approval process, several concerns set by the panels were reflected in the requirements for mining to proceed. However, major differences in decommissioning and post-decommissioning requirements of mine sites and mining revenue sharing with northern communities separated the panels from the government of Saskatchewan.

The Politics of Environmental Impact Hearings

Although it recognized many limitations, ICUCEC decided to participate in the federal-provincial hearings process for four reasons.

First, not to participate in the debate would have isolated ICUCEC and citizens from the current discourse on uranium mining in the province. Hearings are a learning process for anti-nuclear and advocacy groups where their participation requires them to become informed about proposed technologies, and about how to criticise these technologies.

Second, although influencing the final report of the panel and the government's decision was an immediate goals of participating in the assessment process, building continuing resistance to uranium mining and other nuclear developments was the long-term goal.

Third, the hearings were an educational resource. ICUCEC could employ an expert to analyse the EIS' and interpret it so it would be comprehensible and potentially criticizable. From this analysis, resource

materials could be created for citizen education, and citizens could be assisted to critically assess industry proposals, as well as assisted to research, prepare, present and defend their submissions to the panel.

Fourth, the hearings could be used to expose federal and provincial government complicity in nuclear weapons proliferation, and provide a forum or an occasion to address concerns about linkages between Saskatchewan uranium mining, French nuclear weapons testing in the South Pacific, and French nuclear weapons production.

Technological Literacy as Education for Empowerment

Fleming recommends three requirements for technological literacy. First, technology must be viewed as a socio-technical system of manufacture and use in which one understands relationships between society and technology. Technology is viewed as:

a) having technical aspects consisting of hardware and know-how which includes information, machinery, skills, and processes,

b) organisation consisting of systems of manufacture including public policy, administration, engineers, designers, and unions,

c) systems of use. (Because much current thinking is dominated by the view of technology as technical, as tools for use, as hardware and know-how, education processes have to move learners to recognize technology's social and cultural dimensions).

Second, technological knowledge needs to be recognized as a "unique form of cognition" in direct contrast to technology as applied science. Recognition of "problematic data" is one way to differentiate applied science from technological knowledge. Technologies are problematic because they exist within the historical exigencies of "design concepts, and limited material and societal contexts" (Staudenmaier in Fleming 396). Abstract theory remains unaffected by historical reality. Emerging, normally used, and difficult technologies have technical problems or "areas of ignorance" which can not "be completely understood" and about which questions will be "asked and possibly inadequately answered" (Ibid. 396).

The third requirement for citizen empowerment in a technological society requires that one "gain a realistic picture of a decisionistic society" (Fleming, 399). Fleming develops his account of a decisionistic society from Habermas. In this society, the elite at the top of the social hierarchy does not have the highly specialised skills of technical experts at a lower social level. Technological developments are driven by elite interests with assistance of experts.

Anti-Nuclear Advocacy as Technological Literacy

In this project ICUCEC's anti-nuclear advocacy focused on assisting interested people prepare and present written submissions to the joint federal-provincial panel which considered the Cluff Lake, Midwest Joint Venture, and McLean Lake Environmental Impact Statements. ICUCEC studied hearings' regulations and requirements, spearheaded construction of a coalition of organisations to apply for FEARO intervener funding, built a research and education strategy, contracted and supported Radioactive Waste Management Associates (RWMA), prepared of technical briefs and a resource package, and advanced the project to the panel hearings. ICUCEC sent visiting speakers to communities, funded and contracted expert assistance to analyze and interpret the three EIS, prepared a resource package to explain the hearings process and some technical issues to interested citizens, arranged for special presentations to the panel, held workshops and provided logistical support for presenters, and provided public information to foster a technological literacy about the proposed uranium mines.

The three environmental impact studies provided by the industry posed considerable difficulty for ICUCEC because of the technical discussions presented in them. ICUCEC and the Coalition wanted to determine what the cumulative effects of these uranium mines, all proceeding at relatively the same time, would be on the region of the mining in particular, and the world in general. From this general question arose other more particular questions about air quality, water quality, and the handing of mine tailings. The Coalition needed someone to analyze the impact studies and respond to these questions.

ICUCEC did not have this capability, whereas this was the work generally done by RWMA.

ICUC had criticized these documents as per their application for intervenor funding and has prepared "deficiency statements" which were submitted to the review panel on behalf of the Coalition. To expand involvement in the hearings, ICUCEC posted the documents on an international computer bulletin board run by the Association of Progressive Communications to make analyses available world-wide.

Technological Literacy and the Assessment Hearings

Approximately 150 (Lee, Appendix D.) persons and groups formally submitted written oral presentations to the review panel during the public hearings. All oral presentations were recorded and transcribed in the *Transcript of Public Hearings*. Selections from some submissions, the transcripts and the panel's final report reveal how some presenters argued their opposition to the projects. In the analysis below, the submission of some presenters to the inquiry are reviewed below through Fleming's second educational component. This analysis uses examples from participant presentations to highlight how their examination of issues constitutes a form of empowerment to challenge company proposals in the environmental impact statements.

Technological Knowledge

Assisting adults learn the technological knowledge that will make it possible for them to address issues and provide an account for their decisions about mining projects requires some education. Adults interested in discerning the possible effects of uranium mining on the environment, worker health, weapons proliferation, and/or political freedom, often require assistance to understand how these effects are grounded in the technology. To assist adult learners, the coalition had RWMA analyze the impact statements (Goldman, Uranium Coalition, RWMA) to provide a criticism of the technologies proposed for the mines. The impact statements are technical documents that describe each mining and milling project, the processes used to mine and mill, the specifications for each of the elements of the project, various mitigation measures to protect the environment and workers, and decommissioning. Prepared by experts in engineering, chemistry, hydrology, the impact studies have been designed to receive the approval of the assessment panel. These documents demand expertise to decode because they assume various forms of knowledge. To facilitate citizen examination of the EIS and make the preparation of submissions possible, ICUCEC made the RWMA analyses available to its members and interested parties, and interpreted the analyses so they could be made available publicly.

The analysis of problematic data by participants supported the panel's formulation of sixteen recommended requirements before a mine would be allowed to open. One problematic area involved the air quality, more specifically the aerial release of radon gas from ore bodies, stock piles, waste rock, the mill, water treatment and tailings. In their review, RWMA criticized the Mclean Lake EIS as deficient in accounting for radon.

The boundary for the radionuclide dose assessment is defined by six critical receptor points on and adjacent to the McLean Lake property. This is a major deficiency of the modelling scheme because it does not take into account the total radiation dose commitments of all persons affected by radioactive releases.

Radon will be released to the air and be distributed throughout the Northern Hemisphere, affecting about 4 billion persons (over 100,000 years). As has been shown by AECB consultants, Projected by Radioactive Waste Management Associates for the entire Elliot Lake complex, hundreds of thousands to millions of lung cancers can be caused by radon releases from tailings (Radioactive Waste Management Associates, 4).

Over the very long time period that tailings and ore at the mine sites will release radon gas, which mixes very rapidly with the atmosphere, the health of very many people can be affected. The concentrations of radon progeny, particularly pulonium in the mine areas are not monitored. Several presenters commented on this problem, two of whom, Edwards and Sheil, are quoted in the panels final report. The panel recommended that "all reasonable measures should be taken to minimize the release of radon and thereby mitigate health risks (Lee, 14). While the

assessment of the EIS by RWMA will be contested by the mining company, it is uncertain that radon gas release can be substantially reduced even though requested by the panel.

The analysis by RWMA and the resource packages prepared by ICUCEC provided learning possiblities for many participants. Through research, the preparation of arguments, and presentations to the panels, many participants came to learn about the technology of mining uranium. They learned how uranium mining is related to standards of environmental and worker health protection, that problematic areas such as release of radon gas which, while monitored, is not prevented, and about engineering designs for mining, tailings containment, and decommissioning. Technological literacy for these participants can consist partly of understanding the science behind uranium mining but, just as important, it consists of a recognition of the problematics specific to the engineering and technical requirements to remove ore from the ground and uranium from the ore.

Limits of Empowerment Through Technological Literacy

How do you empower people in disempowering situations? Hearings processes can be forums that disempower citizens and transgress the common good while legitimating vested interests in technological development. These processes privilege the proposals of corporations, with substantial resources to advance their interests. For legitimation purposes such processes require citizen interveners who will scrutinise or appear to scrutinise industry proposals. If no interveners appear at hearings, governments and corporations argue that there is no public interest, and panels have no publicly generated issues to scrutinize. Interveners who participate do so with fewer resources, time, organisation and expertise than proposal proponents, and they are subjected to the limitations of inquiry rules and regulations. Further, the product of inquiries are generally non-binding recommendations to the government with its own interests. Citizens are disempowered by not participating in the hearings process because the proposals are advanced and projects advanced without criticism and possible amelioration. Citizens can also be disempowered by participating in processes in which proposals are examined in less than adequate conditions for critical scrutiny, where this scrutiny is not adequately translated into recommendations, and where governments do not heed recommendations.

Critics of critical pedagogy and empowerment theory in education argue that possibilities for empowerment are often overstated. Gore points out that the "constructions of empowerment—often reveal a "will to knowledge"—that is so strong, that the need, desire, willingness to question one's work is lost in the desire to believe that one has found 'truth', that one is right" (Gore, 66). Gore questions the optimistic view of agency, simplistic conceptions of power, "the tendency to overlook context" and lack of reflexivity among critical theorists as limitations to much critical pedagogy (Gore, 63). One must be cautious about using empowerment ideology, and it is important to recognize the limitations of Fleming's notion of technological literacy in this analysis. Fleming's notion of technological literacy is limited to the metaphor of written literacy. The difference between writing to clarify thought on paper, and writing to present one's thought at a public forum can be dramatically different. The necessity of defending a position in a public forum requires the courage to present one's work publicly where it can be criticized. It requires preparation to redeem claims discursively. Compared to the essayist who does not face criticism directly, participants must be doubly prepared to conduct a defence. This act of questioning, confronting, and opposing the industry places citizens self consciously and critically into the socio-technology of uranium mining development. In this forum, power relations between the industry and the citizen are highlighted. The industry presides with the panel over participants' questioning. Within Giroux's dictum to "act as if you lived in a democracy," many participants appear at the inquiry through an act of courage in which they place their thinking under the scrutiny of the state and corporate interests. Within the framework of this scrutiny the rightness and truth of one's claims are not only advanced but tested for certainty, integrity and conviction.

Citizen action in this forum constitutes "making" a decision which engages them in challenging the proposals. Making a decision to question, challenge and oppose is a form of critical action which can

produce subjective clarity and objective change. This approach reflects elements of the Freirian model of emancipatory praxis which focuses on the dialectics of critical reflection and action (Friere), and Giroux's notion of creating public spheres where educators and citizens make emancipatory discourses possible (Giroux). In the Saskatchewan case, the panel recommended that the Dominique Janine Extension proceed subject to 16 recommendations. The McLean Lake Project proceed after a five year delay and implementation of 16 recommendations, and the Midwest Joint Venture could not proceed (Lee, 1-2). On weapons proliferation the report stated:

> there is no process whereby exported Canadian uranium can be separated from uranium derived from other sources. Therefore, no proven method exists for preventing incorporation of Canadian uranium into military applications. (Lee, 26).

The Saskatchewan NDP government had a policy to support mine expansion subject to the panel's recommendations (Burton). In response to the recommendations, the provincial government agreed to allow the Janine-Dominique extension with conditions. They disallowed the Midwest Joint Venture to proceed as recommended. However, they did not accept some crucial recommendations; namely, the five year delay of McClean Lake, and a recommendation that a revenue sharing formula with the affected communities around the mines be agreed upon before any mines proceed (Prebble).

Assessment panels can be forums that provide for citizen empowerment through technological literacy. It is possible to have panels recommend on a broad range of possible outcomes, including rejection of industry proposals, delaying mine start-up and requiring conditions for acceptance of proposals. Although such assessments are part of governmental requirements, they function within broader political frameworks. Public democratic forums, like the environmental assessment review processes, have limits which can be stretched, but the limits are put in place by powers outside of that process. While the empowerment of citizens supported by the interveners like ICUCEC encourages and increases abilities to participate in state sponsored democratic processes, this empowerment does not necessarily translate into decisions that reflect citizen interests.

Participants became empowered by informing themselves about uranium mining issues, challenging the industry through the hearings, and identifying contradictions and limitations in the hearings process. At the same time, ICUCEC and the Coalition became current in the discourse central to uranium mining projects specific to Saskatchewan. They helped develop national and international perspectives on uranium mining as part of technological literacy by organising tours to communities, inviting guest presenters, and posting through Internet. They used the hearings as an educational resource to construct and distribute materials, and to assist citizens prepare and present submissions to the assessment panel. They used the hearings to expose federal and provincial complicity in nuclear weapons proliferation, particularly the French connection. For the first time, a FEARO panel concluded that Canada's international treaties governing the use of exported Canadian uranium were ineffective at controlling the use of Saskatchewan uranium in weapons production and testing.

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SECTION II

The Policy and Administration Dimensions

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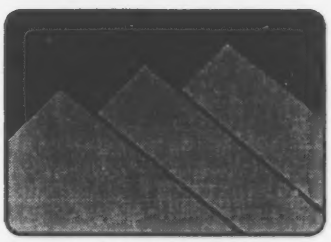

CANMORE

EDUCATING THE ADULT EDUCATOR IN AN INFORMATION SOCIETY: THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

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Among the contemporary questions being asked in both sociology and philosophy is one about the extent to which the culture of the West is becoming post-modern. Underlying this question is another one, one which is just as profound but which has received less consideration in adult education—this is the phenomenon of globalisation (Featherstone, 1990; Robertson, 1992; Friedman, 1994, *inter alia*).

Globalisation is, perhaps, an indication of the success of capitalism since the world has now become the market, and multinational companies transfer capital to the countries which will provide the cheapest labour and the greatest chance for large profits. The West, with its high labour costs, is not a place where multinationals will invest—unless there are reasons for so doing, such as the trades barriers between the European Union and the remainder of the world, etc. or because of the high level of technology which obviates the need for expensive labour. This process is enhanced by the technological communications networks which enable information to be transmitted around the world in microseconds. It is this phenomenon that has generated the concept of the 'information society' (See Archer, 1990—who characterises this type of society as the third form since the 1960s). But clearly the whole idea of information impinges on concepts central to education—learning and teaching—and this is quite crucial to the thesis of this paper.

This movement has also had profound effects on the West, such as: a recognition that the nation state is undergoing major changes and national sovereignty is fast becoming a historical concept; a change in the structure of the labour force and high unemployment; an increasing stress on individual achievement and self-sufficiency and a declining emphasis on welfare; an end to the optimism of progress with the onset of the disillusioning idea of mere process through the annuls of time. These changes are, naturally, also having their effects on both the university and the nature of adult education and, consequently, it is from this perspective that this paper asks questions about the changing nature of the education of adults, the role of adult educators and the place of universities in their preparation and continuing education. The paper itself has three main sections: the changing nature of knowledge itself, the changing nature of the field(s) of practice of the education of adults and the role of the universities in relation to the preparation and continuing education of practitioners.

PART ONE

The Changing Nature of Knowledge

Modernity is typified by an emphasis on scientific knowledge, empiricism, rationality, universality, individualism, secularism and progress. Thus it was that as a result of the Enlightenment, Western society reflected these values at a time when its power was dominant and its culture regarded as having reached the apex of civilisation. These were also the values embraced by the intellectuals who were, to some extent, the guardians of a culture supporting the power of the modern state. As a result education played a significant role in the development of modern society. However, there was a gradual dissolution of the bond between the intellectuals and the modern state for, as Bauman (1992, p.14) argues, the political technology 'developed by the modern state was soon to render the legitimizing services of the intellectuals increasingly redundant; or reduce them to a subordinate role...'

The decline in the status in the intellectual is reflected in the declining status of universities, with the movement towards a system of mass higher education

in U.K. This form of education reflects a later form of society which, for the sake of convenience, will be referred to here as late modern society because it is not intended to enter the discussion about post-modernity, although it is considered to be an out-come of globalisation and technological innovation. Late modern society has lost some of its emphasis on some of those values which marked modernity, such as scientific knowledge, empiricism, rationality and progress, and the power of the state has itself de-clined with the dominance of global technological capitalism (See Robertson, 1992). Indeed, the nature of knowledge itself has undergone change, with four major changes being suggested in the remainder of this section. Knowledge is now regarded as: relative (almost narrative); its rational basis has changed; its modes of transmission have altered; it has become a marketable commodity.

The Relativity of Knowledge: When Lyotard (1984) wrote *The Post-Modern Condition* he claimed that all knowledge had become narrative, but later he (1992, p. 31) recognised that he had overemphasised his position and he now thinks that different forms of knowledge have to be recognised, even though he still considered some forms of scientific knowledge to be narrative. The point about a great deal of discourse is that it reflects the dominant theories of the day and, as is now widely recognised, the pre-vailing received knowledge does appear to change with great rapidity.

The question might well be posed about the extent to which there is unchanging scientific knowledge, and clearly nobody is going to reject the idea that there are some universal and unchanging laws of nature, although it must be recognised that these are much less frequent than was previously claimed. Advances in scientific research do tend to modify prevailing theories and this has also come to be rather taken for granted; new discoveries reveal more about phenomena than was previously known; new technological advances mean that what was impossible a year or two ago now becomes possible and tomorrow becomes everyday. Scientific knowledge, therefore, has become recognised as relative and its validity can always be questioned as other evidence is produced to refute or recast a current theory. Academics who previously legislated on what was correct knowledge have now become interpreters in a world of new knowledge (Bauman, 1992) and, perhaps, legitimators of learning.

Other disciplines, such as the social sciences, have tried to be scientific in their approach and as they have approximated to the scientific, they have discovered that there are myths about the claims about the nature of scientific knowledge itself. Indeed, it is perhaps significant that the term 'learning' is sometimes preferred to 'knowledge' since the latter term implies a finitude, or an end-product, while the former suggests that that which is known is only partial and that the progress of discovery is incomplete.

In the light of all these recent changes, it might be argued that there is surely a sense of optimism about the progress that is being achieved, but this is also farm from the truth, for, as Fukuyama (1992, p.4) suggests the 'pessimism of the twentieth century stands in sharp contrast to the optimism of the previous one'; perhaps humankind in Western Europe has lots its way and its confidence—where is history going, and why should new knowledge be produced if it is only relative? This is a world in which old questions are being asked anew.

The Rational Basis of Knowledge: The birth of modernity brought with it an increasing emphasis on empiricism at the time of the Enlightenment. The traditional narratives about the world were being destroyed by the scientific discoveries and rational arguments of the age. The then new universities grew up in this age of modernity, often with the express intention of disseminating this new scientific knowledge to an eager population—the history of adult education is littered with mechanics and scientific institutes, literary institutes and stories of many hundreds of people coming to lectures about recent scientific discoveries. Knowledge was regarded as empirically true and, therefore, valid. Empiricism was regarded as the basis on a great deal of this new knowledge and those who discovered it were the legislators of what was correct. The universities were in a position to pronounce on what was correct and true knowledge.

But now the basis of knowledge is changing. Increasingly it is becoming apparent that many statements about society are ideological rather than empirical, and claims about it seen to be discourse rather than factual. These may still be firmly based in reason although they are less possible to substantiate.

Indeed, there has also been an increase in narratives about what society should be like, rather than what it is—more ethical studies and even a return to utopian studies (e.g. Kumar, 1987; Levitas, 1990). In a sense, this is a response to the pessimism that Fukuyama described. Yet young people increasingly opt to study the humanities and social sciences—a symbol about life that the universities appear to hear only partially because of the strident demands of the complex commercial system which has become their paymaster, demands reinforced by the state.

But there is another basis to knowledge that is now being accepted and this is clearly described by Lyotard (1984, p. 48), who argues that the knowledge that the universities teach is now only socially legitimated by the criterion of the performability in the social system, so that they have to produce skilled experts since:

> The transmission of knowledge is no longer destined to train an elite capable of guiding the nation toward its emancipation, but to supply the system with players capable of acceptably fulfilling their roles at the pragmatic posts required by the institution.

He goes on to argue that once knowledge ceases to be an end in itself its transmission is no longer the exclusive responsibility of scholars and students. Knowledge is now based on pragmatism. This is not the place to explore the philosophy of pragmatism, but it might be claimed now that knowledge is legitimated by its utility. If something works, then it can be transmitted to others. However, the issue is perhaps deeper than this since universities are being urged to seek research funding from industry and commerce—the knowledge being produced is based on its perceived utility. Once produced, it needs to be transmitted to those who need it, so that another new concept has become quite central to universities and colleges in recent years—continuing education. Continuing education used to be called 'adult education' and then there was a combination of terms such as 'adult and continuing education' and now the adult has been dropped from much common usage and 'continuing education' has become the accepted term. People need continuing education so that they can continue with their work, etc. Universities are also being increasingly asked to conduct an impact evaluation on what they are teaching, that is the performance outcome in the organisation from which the students come. To a great extent, the validity of continuing education is pragmatic since its value depends on its impact on society. The philosophy of pragmatism, however, does need to be revisited.

Transmission of Knowledge: At the birth of modernity, there were basically two modes of knowledge transmission, spoken and written, and the universities were undertaking both. The lecture theatre was the locus for the transmission of learning and the publishing houses, with such illustrious names as Oxford and Cambridge, being the other major mode of knowledge transmission. When wireless became the third major mode, the universities were notably absent, as they were with the birth of television. Eventually, with the birth of the Open University in the United Kingdom, the universities tried to reclaim a place in the modern mode of knowledge transmissions. Clearly, the Open University was a great success and its knowledge production is a Fordist nature—mass production for a mass market, with some courses prepared for 100,000 students. Significantly, questions are now being rased about post-Fordist methods of production, and perhaps there is a place here for the modern university in this late modern world of learning.

Yet the world has moved on since 1970, and now it is an information society and there are institutions like the Fielding Institute in America which does not use printed materials at all—the electronic university is a reality. But the electronic university is but one stage in this transformation—now there are internet, satellite, cable and compact disc, and this is not just one-way transmission, and the possibilities of interactive media are also here. Indeed, some commercial companies are already producing interactive video compact discs, so that knowledge can be taught and learned interactively, and cable has even more potential. The research and development costs of these innovations have been considerable, so that it could hardly be expected that a single university could produce such material—although Associated Universities, a commercial company in Tennessee sponsored by a number of universities, has been producing technological learning material under contract for many years.

Knowledge has become a Marketable Commodity:

Knowledge, then, can now be packaged and marketed. In the information society, this information might not now be called teaching, but learning packages, or learning materials, etc. are now familiar terms. This is an information-led society and knowledge has become a commodity that can be sold, like any other. However, it is even more important than many of the products on the market. Lyotard (1984, p. 5) wrote:

> Knowledge in the form of an informational commodity indispensable to productive power is already, and will continue to be a major - perhaps the major - stake in the worldwide competition for power. It is conceivable that nation-states will one day fight for control of information, just as they battled in the past for control over territory.....

National states, however, are themselves subject to intense pressures with these new developments and so it might conglomerate states that battle with each other. Universities and colleges which purvey information are now part of an extensive and complex scene in which they are rarely the largest players. Indeed, the multinational companies that are able to invest millions of dollars in the research and production of these means of transmitting knowledge are also able to invest the same amount of capital in the research and development of knowledge itself. They are able to produce their own learning materials and market them for whosoever will to purchase.

Universities still, to a large extent rely on local and instantaneous transmission of knowledge, i.e. the learners have to be present when the lecture is delivered although they are slowly moving to other forms of open and distance learning, but the new market has both space-time distanciation (Giddens, 1990) and, in the information society, space-time compression (Harvey, 1989): Knowledge can be transmitted and learned not at the teachers' convenience but at the learners', and that this can be done worldwide and instantaneously since the market is now global, etc.

Information, then, is an important, relative commodity that is being marketed by many different organisations. The basis of knowledge in society has changed and become more pragmatic, and its culture is one where there are ample opportunities to acquire such learning packages and opportunities. Having laid the foundations, it is now important to examine the ways that this is affecting the education of adults.

PART TWO

The Changing Nature of the Field(s) of Practice in the Education of Adults

Clearly there are major changes occurring in society and these are having profound effects on the education of adults, and it is increasingly necessary for adult educators to consider what is happening in their field, or fields, of practice. This section of the paper begins this exploration in four subsections: eduction and learning; vocational and leisure time learning; the learners; the nature of the dissemination of information.

Education and Learning: For a long time educators have confused the terms education and learning; indeed, they have treated them as synonymous. Hence, it has been hard to distinguish between the use of 'adult education' and 'adult learning', and 'lifelong education', and 'lifelong learning', etc. What is now happening is that the distinction between these two ideas is becoming clearer. Learning is something which people do, while education is a social institution which provides learning opportunities for people. The significance of this is that with the advent of the information society a great deal of learning material is becoming more easily available to individuals, often at the market price, but that the providers need not be organisations which are commonly regarded as educational. An individual can undertake a course of learning which has been purchased in a retail outlet or attend classes in the same subject at a local adult educational institution. In the one instance, it is learning and the other it might be considered to be educational. The crucial difference at the present time is the nature of the provider rather than the mode of dissemination or the subject studied. The significance of the above illustration is that it is the same subject being studied—the choice of provider is now with the learner. This is part of the nature of the change—the learner might choose to purchase the learning from an educational institution or from another provider of learning materials and the difference between these two has begun to be explored elsewhere (Jarvis, forth-coming).

Significantly, the information society is a learning society; people have to respond to the social changes that are occurring and this is a learning experience, but they can also choose to purchase learning opportunities at any time in their lives, but it need not all come from educational institutions.

Vocational and Leisure Time Learning: People can learn throughout the whole of their lives—for both work and leisure. The whole of life is a potential learning field, which has often been crudely separated into two—a vocational and a leisure time pursuit. Leisure time learning can involve any subject that is of interest to the learner. Similarly, vocational education refers to every occupation, so that there are many different fields of practice and almost impossible to chart them.

The knowledge explosion has resulted in the need for some occupations to introduce regular updating for its members in order to insure that they are reasonably abreast with the latest thinking, so that there has been a massive growth in continuing vocational education over the past few years. Indeed, the term 'continuing education' has itself usurped 'adult education' in the educational vocabulary and this is because this latter term tended to refer to that learning which individuals undertook for their own satisfaction or pleasure, etc. It was a leisure time activity and learning for learning's sake became on of the marks of the educated person. Indeed, as early as 1960, Kerr *et al* (who typify Archer's first social form—industrial convergence society) suggested that education is the handmaiden of industry and that only those subjects useful to industry should be included in the curriculum—all other subjects should be regarded as leisure time activities. They (1973, p. 47) recognise precisely what type of educational system will emerge:

> Such an educational system is not primarily concerned with conserving traditional values or perpetuating the classics;.....

They were really only concerned about higher education when they wrote, but their thesis holds good for certain other forms of education in the information society. Vocational continuing education has become preeminent and adult education is wrongly regarded as something of a historical anachronism. In order to understand the nature of continuing vocational education, it is necessary to understand the structure of the workforce in a global capitalist society and Reich suggested that in the USA in 1991 the labour market segmentation was rather like this:

Public sector worker - 20% (teachers, government workers)
Primary production - 5% (mining, farming)
Symbolic/analytic services - 20% (problem solving, analysts, working with symbols and oral and visual representations
In-person services - 30% and growing (people working in service industries - nursing, secretaries, transport,hotel and catering)
Routine production - 25% and declining (production line workers, including low and middle management, and data processing).

Consequently, the nature of continuing profession education may be partially postulated from this picture, but this is exacerbated by the fact that the global labour market has helped create tremendously high unemployment in the West, so that people in any of these sectors of employment need to demonstrate that they are qualified to be there. Getting continuing professional qualifications is not necessarily a sign of expertise in the job, but it is a sign that the holder of the qualification is equipped on paper to perform the occupational role, or to advance in along the chosen career route. For the unemployed, getting educational qualifications is a sign that they are employable. The signs of education are perhaps more important than the knowledge itself in a society with high unemployment. Educational courses are means to qualifications which are symbols of expertise and Dewey's (1916) claim that education has no end beyond itself is seen not to hold good in contemporary society.

Clearly, continuing vocational education will take on many forms from very advanced courses for the 20% in the symbolic and analytic services, to taught masters and doctoral courses for those in the service and routine occupations and to skills learning and learning in the workplace for routine production and in-person services. Additionally, there will be some research in continuing vocational education but this will tend to be applied and developmental rather than basic and fundamental.

The Learners: Clearly in a world of rapid social change the everybody has to respond to the change and so everybody is learner and the retail companies selling their learning materials will undertake their own market research to discover their potential market.

Those who enrol in courses in educational institutions are the learners who have been the traditional focus of research in the education of adults. Sargant (1991) conducted a major survey in the United Kingdom in which she showed that 10% of adults were currently engaged in studying and a further 16% had studied in the previous three years. She also found that 10% more were consciously undertaking self-directed learning, and this is the figure which is likely to rise as more multimedia learning packages are produced.

Sargant also found that a high proportion of men received vocational education whereas more women were engaged in leisure time education. However, the growth of elder learning might well begin to change these figures in the coming years. It is clear that education for elders is an increasingly common phenomenon, with Elderhostel, University of the Third Age and even folk high schools especially devoted to seniors.

Nature of the Dissemination of Learning Opportunities: The global society has seen two realignments of time and space, space-time distanciation (Giddens, 1990) and space-time compression (Harvey, 1989), and both of these are significant for education and learning.

Traditionally, education has been conducted at a point where space and time intersect. Learners have to be where the teachers are and so teacher-student interaction occurs. This form of education is clearly important and will not be phased out as a result of these changes, although even changes in the way this is conducted might occur. For instance, since teaching is an expensive commodity, it might be that the best teacher-learner ratios will occur in non-formal educational settings, such as the University of the Third Age, where the teachers are not paid. In addition, this will also occur in highly specialised areas, where the teacher is a specialist and few people could perform the same role in the same subject. However, this will be an expensive process and will occur less frequently. In addition, a new phenomenon might occur with teaching packages being prepared which are then taught by less well qualified teachers, so that the same course can be taught a number of times by different assistants during its shelf life. It will be rather like teaching assistants in schools but, in this case, the courses could actually be purchased by educational providers and taught—a form of enfranchisement. This approach is clearly possible with the type of space-time compression which has resulted in short modules, thus allowing for a change of learning menu whenever the learner tires of a specific topic area.

Space-time compression has also resulted in new forms of delivery, such as fax, E-mail, satellite, cable and internet, so that it is now possible to study courses that are transmitted from any part of the world. Courses already exist on the worldwide web and the virtual university is in the process of being created. Both interactively, and otherwise, this is already occurring.

Space-time distanciation has already meant that traditional distance education courses has separated the teacher/writer of the learning material from the learners. It is possible through all forms of transmission to study courses years after they are produced and for educational, and other, institutions to continue to market courses long after the course writers have left the institution—provided that the course is still marketable.

Clearly, the providers for all this material do not have to be only educational institutions because many other agencies involved in transmitting knowledge are able to undertake the same process. There is now a market for learning materials, one which might become even more competitive. However, the market is a complex phenomenon—it is not just a matter of supply and demand, which is the rationality of modernity and one which does not reflect the realities of a late modern society. Marketing is about selling brand names and signs. Indeed, Baudrillard (cited from 1988, p. 22) highlights this in his discussion of consumption in *The System of Objects*:

> Consumption is *the virtual totality of all objects and message presently constituted in a more or less coherent discourse.* Consumption, in so far as it is meaningful, is *a systematic act of the manipulation of signs.* (Italics in the original)

Baudrillard has argued that for phenomena to become objects of consumption, they must become signs. It is at this point that the educational system currently has a great advantage over other purveyors of learning—it has an established and widely recognised system of signs, which are the educational qualifications. Educational qualifications demonstrate that the learning which has been undertaken is legitimate and that it is recognised as such. The qualification has become a currency in the market for occupation and possession of such a qualification demonstrates that the individual has the necessary learning to undertake the work. But jobs are changing and becoming more complex and knowledge, since it is relative, is rapidly dated by new discoveries. Additional signs are required by the market that potential candidates for work have the recent knowledge necessary to undertake the work. Qualifications become outdated and new ones are required. A new phenomenon is emerging—qualification inflation—for the bachelors degree and then the Masters degree becomes devalued and the taught doctorate will become the new sign of a well qualified professional.

Educational institutions, therefore, can legitimate learning throughout the whole of life. At the present moment, educational institutions hold a monopoly in the United Kingdom when it comes to legitimating learning, but the question has to be asked for how long this will continue. Already there are commercial organisations which award their own qualifications. As Eurich (1985, p. 85) notes:

> A new development on the scene of business and education is the growing number of corporate colleges, institutes, or universities that grant their own degrees. It is the Rand Ph.D., the Wang or Arthur D. Little Master of Science degree. No longer the purview of established educational institutions alone, accredited academic degrees are being awarded increasingly by companies and industries that have created their own separate institutions and successfully passed the same educational hurdles used to accredit traditional higher education.

This development, which has already started in U.K. in a cooperative manner, might well develop in the way that Eurich suggests so that it might not be long before corporate institutions are marketing cultural knowledge for educational qualifications. This is the logical development of what is currently occurring in the educational market and adults are much more easily able to purchase their learning materials on the open market—although the poor will once again be disadvantaged, as they always are with the market economy, and this could lead to a reemergence of radical forms of adult education.

Educational institutions will have to discover that there are niche markets and that the relativity of modern knowledge is not conducive to Fordist modes of production, so that in a post-Fordist age of production they have a significant role to play, albeit in cooperation with other providers.

Thus it may be seen that learning materials are being and will continue to be disseminated by a variety of means and this change is paradigmatic in education, so that it is now necessary to explore the role of the universities in preparing educators of adults for this new era.

PART THREE

Preparing the Adult Educator - The Role of the Universities

It has been claimed that the education of adults is undergoing a paradigmatic shift at the present time and so it is necessary to undertake three things in this section: firstly, to identify the educators of adults; secondly to investigate the extent to which the university has a role in preparing these practitioners; finally, to examine briefly the role of the university in the study of this new phenomenon in the light of its own changing place in society.

The Educators of Adults: It has often been noted that education has shifted from the teacher to the learner, but the role of the teacher has then been redefined as a facilitator of learning. However, it is now learning *per se* which is at the heart of this new phenomenon. Learning materials can now be purchased in the market and so who is now the teacher? Is the teacher the person(s) who prepare the learning information, or those who actually prepare the materials, or those who deliver the materials, or those who assess the learning (if this is undertaken)? Is the teacher the educator in the traditional educational institution or

the human resource developed in industry and commerce? Is the teacher the mentor who assists the learner, or the counsellor or advisor whose role is to offer support and guidance? Clearly the role of the teacher has changed, but the factors that remain constant are the learner and learning. Consequently, it now becomes possible to begin to identity the variety of role players who might be regarded as teachers of adults.

In traditional education when time and space intersects the teaching role was much clearer than it is now; the realignment of time and space has resulted in a division of labour in the role of the teacher which the following table begins to explore, although it must be recognised that these are not all separate roles in every teaching and learning event and often performed by the same person:

TABLE 1- The Division of Teaching Labour

In Contact with the Learners	At One Stage Removed from Learners
Teacher/Facilitator	Trainer of Teachers/Trainers
Teaching Assistant	Author(s) of Learning Materials
Trainer	Programme/Curriculum Planners
Mentor	Programme Administrative Staff
Counsellor/Advisor	Programme Technical Staff
Retailer/Marketing Staff	Consultants and Evaluators
Education Administrator	
Assessor	

Each of these roles has its own special skills, some of which are traditionally part of the normal adult education courses, but others fall beyond their traditional boundaries. For instance, the technical staff may require very advanced computing or satellite engineering skills, etc. which entails training in their own technical subjects, programme managers may need all the financial and administrative skills of any normal business and advisors may require advance counselling skills or just a wide knowledge of the programmes on the market. The significance of this table, however, is that it begins to outline some of the knowledge and the many skills that educators of adults require and which courses for their preparation might contain.

In addition, it is important to recognise that since the learning is now central to the exercise, learning theory in its widest sense should form the core curriculum. Learning theory, in this sense, is not merely the basic psychological framework which has formed the basis of many educational courses, but it needs to consider both the social and the philosophical aspects of human learning in this contemporary society. (See Jarvis, 1992).

The Role of the University in Preparing Educators of Adults: There have been a number of studies on the preparation of educators of adults (e.g. Brookfield, 1988; Jarvis and Chadwick, 1991) but none have addressed the current situation, although the theme of this conference demonstrates clearly that this is becoming a focus of attention for adult educators. This concern is exacerbated by the fact that government in the United Kingdom is recognising that the preparation of educators, and other professionals, is an expensive undertaking and beginning to advocate training on the job. Obviously, learning in the workplace is an important element in any form of professional preparation since it has been recognised for many years that technical rationality is the rationality of modernity and globalisation has led to the exclusiveness of this form of rationality being questioned (e.g. Schon, 1983; Bright, 1989; Usher and Bryant, 1989). While there is now, correctly, a greater emphases being placed on practical knowledge (Baskett and Marsick, 1992), it does not preclude the need for theoretical preparation. Nevertheless, it is maintained here that the curriculum for this preparation should reflect the reality and demands of contemporary society and opportunities should be provided both to learn about the practical and also to begin to develop theoretical perspectives from it. It is impossible to develop such a curriculum in a brief paper like this one, although it is important to provide an overview.

TABLE 2- An Overview of a Curriculum for the Preparation of Educators of Adults

Core Topics (Practical Knowledge)	Core Topics (Introductory Theory)	Additional Topics
Theory of Learning	This is the basic theory about *how* to perform the role and knowledge *that* actors should expect certain outcomes to given performances.	Perspectives from the relevent disciplines upon specific fields of practice. This is knowledge *why*.
The Fields of Practical and Specialist Roles to be performed. (Both practical and theoretical experience)	Knowledge gained from research	Knowledge about how to conduct research

The above table suggest an outline that would allow certain forms of knowledge to be studies at different levels—the core topics should be taken as introductory subjects whereas the additional topics might be studied for advanced qualifications. It is also important that practitioners should understand research since it is becoming increasingly important both to understand the field and also to perform relevantly within it to understand the changing society and the place that learning has to play within it.

The Role of the University: The universities are undergoing change and it would be unwise to expect there to be no alteration in the way that universities relate to the training of adult educators. If knowledge is a marketable commodity then universities will have to market their knowledge and expertise. But they do have expertise not only in the initial preparation of adult educators, but even more in their continuing education and research. In this late modern society, there are niche markets and universities have to discover these within the field of the education of adults. In the first instance, it is conceivable that training those people employed in preparation and dissemination of learning materials—both teachers and others—is a job that none of the other providers will undertake. This is especially true with the continuing education of such practitioners, but it must be borne in mind that their needs are changing and universities need to be flexible enough to enable them to respond to these market demands.

Many of the large providers will undertake their own research into adults' learning habits, although it does seem that there are research opportunities here that need to be grasped. Once again, this research will be of a pragmatic and immediately usable form, but it is important to begin to gather such data. The extent to which this will be fundamental research is questionable but, in the first instance, it is important to respond to the opportunities that exist. Indeed, if the work that the educators of adults undertake is important (and it is) then this is a major opportunity to demonstrate it. It may only be with the Foundations and other large research organisations that opportunities for more pure forms of scholarship and research will exist in the first instance, although they could well grow as companies begin to recognise the human significance of learning, and there are some indications that this is already beginning to show.

Conclusion

Globalisation has resulted in Western culture experiencing problematic changes and these will no doubt continue in the near future. Nevertheless, the problems with which the education of adults are confronted are also challenges, and new opportunities will emerge since this is an information society and the need to understand how adults respond to information and use the new opportunities to learn are exciting challenges. Even so, they do call for change and reconceptualisation of the nature of what has traditionally been referred to as the education of adults and even of the locations in which research is conducted. This is inevitable and challenging, but it is certainly not the death knell of the involvement of the universities in the preparation and continuing education of adult educators—far from it for in the information society there will be more not less, but different, opportunities.

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ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

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This paper describes the impact of economic globalization on universities and, in particular, on university adult and continuing/extension education. It explores some strategies to counter the threats we currently face as a direct result of this economic phenomenon.

The term "economic globalization" describes the transformation from a large number of autonomous national and regional marketplaces, with some trading links, to a monolithic, highly interconnected global economy. This transformation changes the relationship between markets and states to the extent that it places the world economy ahead of those of nations (Drache & Gertler, 1991a). People who espouse globalization believe that:

> the marketplace is at the centre of society and the most important people in it are the entrepreneurs, because they are the ones who take risks investing their money and managing large and small enterprises. It is they who carry the whole of society forward by responding creatively to the ever-shifting whims of the market. (Laxer, 1993, p. 12)

According to globalization ideology, "driving down costs becomes the single most important priority for business and the state" (Drache & Gertler, 1991b, p. 4).

Laxer (1993) believes that economic globalization is a doctrine "that justifies social hierarchy and inequality" (p. 13). He argues that the aim of those who support this trend is to reverse the goal of social equality which, historically, has been part of Canadian tradition. Their rationale, he says, is that increased competition means "society can no longer afford social democracy, so expensive social and educational programs must be curtailed" (Laxer, 1993, p. 13).

Marchak (1991) and Nelson (1993), describing the public relations campaigns that have been mounted by transnational corporations and their supporters to "educate" people to their views, note that their aim is to "create an ideological consensus and to influence, if not to direct, public policy" (Marchak, 1991, p. 94). Because this media onslaught has been so overwhelming, opposing viewpoints have been effectively silenced.

Consequently, Barnet and Canavagh (1994) believe the transnational corporations now hold immense power and are undermining the efforts of governments to carry out their traditional mandates. In the new corporate rhetoric:

> The idea of the government as the trustee of public interest, or even that there is a public interest, is scarcely heard. Drawn to its logical conclusion, the neoconservative program of weakening the state to recreate a truly unfettered economic environment brings us back to some new form of social Darwinism, which currently goes by the name of the "race to the bottom" and is the hidden agenda of some supporters of treaties such as NAFTA. (Chodos, Murphy & Hammovitch, 1993, p. 41)

What is the impact of economic globalization on university adult education in Canada? What can we do about it? In this paper, I argue against the globalization agenda, explore its impact on universities and offer some suggestions on how to challenge it. I use selected literature to support my case.

Impact on Canadian Universities

Historically, the Canadian government has played a major role in post-secondary education. In the late 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, the federal government was instrumental in building a strong public university system as well as developing other social programs such as Medicare and welfare.

> The assumption was that a basic right of citizenship was access to the same social programs, regardless of province of residence or the fiscal capacity of that province. The expansion of public programs was desirable and appropriate in the context of a mixed economy in which there was a 'balance' between public and private sectors. (Calvert, 1993, pp. 112-113)

However, when the Progressive Conservatives gained power in 1984, these programs came under fierce attack. The Mulroney government de-indexed Ottawa's Established Programs Financing (EPF) plan, thus ensuring that funding for social programs, including post-secondary education, would fall well behind the rate of inflation. In fact, under the de-indexed formula, federal transfer payments to the provinces for universities would effectively end by the year 2006 (McQuaig, 1993).

While the Conservatives were defeated in 1993, the current Liberal government is following the same path. Rather than restoring the EPF to its former level, the Liberals have made even further funding cuts to health, education and social programs and, in the 1995-96 budget, have signalled a profound change in the method of financing these programs. At the same time, the "accumulated $40 billion in deferred corporate taxes wasn't touched in (Finance Minister Paul) Martin's largely symbolic gesture at fair taxation" (Russell, 1995, p. A7).

For many, the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the United States and its successor North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that includes Mexico are the driving forces behind a fundamental restructuring of Canada's post-secondary institutions (Calvert, 1993). In the debates leading up to passage of the FTA, the Mulroney government claimed social programs would not be affected. However, the agreement has increased pressure to cut funding to these programs. As McQuaig (1993) says:

> It has thrown open our borders to goods produced by companies paying lower taxes and lower wages, thereby increasing the determination of Canadian companies to bring down Canadian taxes and wage rates. Lower taxes of course diminish our ability to pay for social programs. And so our competition with low-tax countries has become a powerful argument for those...who wish to roll back the welfare state. (p. 107-108)

Because transnational corporations are able to escape taxation (Barnet & Cavanagh, 1994) and have created an obsession with budget deficits, governments believe they are unable to provide sustained funding for post-secondary institutions. As a result, they are (a) slashing funding to universities, and (b) encouraging universities to seek financial support from the private sector.

Funding cuts

The funding cuts to universities fit neatly into the corporate agenda. Marchak (1991) says:

> the new right literature advocates a reduction in public spending on education. Fewer students should be encouraged to attend universities; more should be streamed into technical schools and directly into the labour force. (p. 102)

Universities across Canada have experienced massive cuts in government funding. As a result, more and more are retrenching and cutting costs by eliminating programs and departments (Lorimer, 1993), and raising tuition fees. McQuaig (1991) argues there is growing pressure to:

> move towards a deregulated system, under which tuition fees would no longer be controlled but would better reflect what the market would bear. The result would be higher tuition, a more "select" group at universities, and less emphasis on ensuring that as many Canadians as possible receive the benefits of higher education. (p. 263)

A clear example of the response to funding cuts—a change that reveals a profound shift in our value system—can be seen in the recent decision by Queen's University to charge $20,000. tuition for a one-year M.B.A. Andrews (1994) speaks of the danger of this step toward total-cost tuition:

> It raises fundamental questions about the post-secondary education system, questions of social value, questions of access, questions of academic integrity. If the wealth exists to support the system then it should be generated through fair

> taxation, both of businesses and of individuals, and not through privatization. (p. 3)

Although other Canadian universities have not followed the Queen's example, we can expect all will be forced to drastically raise tuition fees. This increase will help to create two distinct groups of people: (a) those with money, who can pay increased university fees and will receive an education, and (b) those without money who cannot afford the higher tuition costs, thus creating a pool of undereducated workers who will be desperate enough to take low-paying, part-time service jobs. In effect, this aids the already apparent trend to split the workforce into two distinct groups:

> One part consists of a diminishing employed "elite" of relatively well-educated and technologically well-trained workers who will continue to enjoy an affluent lifestyle. The other consists of a rapidly growing underclass of less educated, less skilled workers who depend on minimum wage "McJobs." This second group is only one small step away from those who have no work at all, nor any prospects of employment. (Barlow & Robertson, 1994, pp. 66, 67)

Clearly, an underclass is being created as a direct result of the globalization agenda. More and more Canadians will be thrown into poverty.

Commercialization

As a direct result of the funding cuts, Canadian universities are scrambling to obtain money from the private sector. This move will result in a "dramatic increase in the commercialization and privatization of our post-secondary institutions" (Calvert, 1993, p. 104).

While the shift toward a commercial orientation in universities has been apparent since the early 1980s (Newson & Buchbinder, 1988), the FTA and NAFTA have "unleashed powerful forces which are rapidly accelerating this trend" (Calvert, 1993, p. 134).

Universities increasingly find themselves functioning as businesses focusing on the "bottom line" rather than as educational institutions "concerned with teaching students and developing a critical position towards society" (Reiter, 1992, p. 261). In fact, according to Barlow & Robertson (1994), the corporate model "based on head-to-head competition and survival of the fittest" (p. 94) is quickly becoming the prototype for educational institutions.

> The assumption that educational services can—indeed should —be treated as economic commodities constitutes a fundamental break with our Canadian traditions and presents a clear and present danger to the educational programs that we cherish. (Calvert, 1993, p. 5)

Calvert (1993) fears that NAFTA will "push governments to make commercial viability the basis for continued funding of educational programs" (p. 105). He warns that disciplines such as the humanities, arts and social sciences, which have "little or no obvious commercial value will find it increasingly difficult to justify their funding" (p. 105). Not only do these programs have little commerical value, but, as Marchak (1991) says, the new right which rejects "the notion that the preservation and critical assessment of a cultural heritage are essential to society" (p. 102) does not support them.

Not only are liberal arts programs under siege, but the very management of universities is changing drastically. Many universities now have CEOs, business-liaison officers and corporate advisors. Gimmicks such as "total quality management" are much in vogue (Barlow & Robertson, 1994). These changes can be attributed, in large part, to "the political priority that is being given to increasing Canada's economic competitiveness in the world market" (Newson, 1992, p. 232).

IMPACT ON UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION

As with the rest of the university, both academic adult education and extension departments are experiencing the effects of economic globalization.

Continuing Education/Extension

The emergence of the market education model in continuing education/extension units has been apparent for a number of years (Cruikshank, 1991,

1993, 1994). However, the cuts have suddenly become much more severe. For the most part, extension education has become a commodity. Most deans and directors are now hired for their perceived business acumen as opposed to their knowledge of adult education theory and practice. Most units now are expected to become "profit centers" within the university. Thus, they target business and industry as their primary "markets" and "partners." In the quest to make money, the needs of marginalized groups are neglected.

Academic Adult Education

Academic adult education units too have come under fire. A number of them have faced major reorganizations. Both Collins (1994) and Sork (1993), describe the current state of university adult education, a state that is attributable to decreased funding and the location of adult education within the university.

The programs that seem to have survived relatively unscathed are those that fit into a narrow vocational/technical/human resource development niche, and are designed to meet the needs of business and industry.

If the cuts to universities continue and if the only adult education programs to survive intact are those that are narrowly focused to serve business, there will inevitably be consequences for those who envision a more transformational role.

What Can We Do?

One key feature of economic globalization is that it instills and reinforces a feeling of powerlessness, a belief that "there is nothing we can do." In effect, Canadians are being led to believe that world economic forces are unstoppable (McQuaig, 1991) and that we should support the trend. Bill Blaikie (1992), an NDP member of Parliament, argues that we do have a choice: we can accommodate economic globalization, or we can resist it. He describes the choices:

> The accommodationist says...that we really have no option. The accommodationists suggest that those who run the world are increasingly designing a world in which this is the stark reality and that the sooner we get on the bandwagon and redesign ourselves to fit this new world, the better...The accommoda-tionist...[believes]...that globalization is something like the weather, that we cannot do anything about it, that the emerging global marketplace is not a human creation...but a force unto itself to which the wise would do well to submit. To do otherwise is folly, would say the accommodationists. (Blaikie, 1992, p.1)

On the other side, Blaikie describes the resisters:

> The resister says that the globalization we have now before us, and which we are asked to embrace, is nothing other than a politically sanitized concept designed to cover up reality. The reality is that the multinational corporate elite want to turn the planet into a playground for themselves, unfettered by nuisance factors like the needs of the community and democratically elected governments and well supplied with the equivalent of cannon fodder i.e. anxious populations ready to accept injustices or even the dismantling of existing structures of justice in order to secure investment or jobs at the expense of other equally anxious populations less willing or less able to offer the same deal. (p. 1)

It is important for us to realize that the attack on university adult education is just a very small part of a much larger picture. We must engage in a two-pronged resistance to this agenda: (a) by looking inward—focusing on the university and the location of adult education within the university; and (b) by looking outward—working at the broader community level.

Looking In

Both Collins (1994) and Sork (1993) speak of ways to solidify academic adult education within the university. For Collins (1994), adult education must be seen to be central to the work of the university, it must be close to the budget centre, and adult educators should participate in interdisciplinary education. For Sork (1993), it is imperative to develop both internal and external alliances, cultivate support among university decision-makers, and for adult educators to publicize their activities. These suggestions are

also applicable to extension work.

It is also important to participate actively in, support, and try to strengthen adult education organizations such as CASAE, which can help us to strengthen our research capacity ("looking in" perspective), and CAAE, which can help us in the area of public education ("looking out" perspective).

Looking Out

As adult educators, it is important to understand that universities are not alone in the fight against government budget squeezes. It is important to link with the broader community in the struggle against economic globalization.

Over the last 20 years, a massive public relations campaign has been orchestrated by the right wing (Fraser Institute, Business Council on National Issues, Canadian Taxpayers Association) which has created a frenzied attack on deficit spending by government. The right has deflected attention away from corporate greed. It has targeted social programs as the main culprit, creating an unsubstantiated belief that they are too costly. Because of the effectiveness of this campaign,

> ...there's a growing sense that we can no longer afford things we pay for communally through our taxes—things that, by any standards, are important items. Indeed, just about everything we pay for communally—health care, education, public parks, rail service, mail delivery, as well as benefits for the elderly, the poor, and the unemployed—are all facing the axe in one form or another. It's all part of an attitude that has held sway in government and business circles for the past decade: anything that we pay for communally is out, private consumption is in. (McQuaig, 1993, p. 139)

As Marchak (1991) points out, the traditional left wing was left behind during the 1980s. She says:

> Intellectuals on the left have produced perceptive and penetrating analyses of that agenda. However, those analyses are too academic: what the new right produced was a populist sloganeering attack on all the groups in society defended by the left. (p. 115)

It is important to shift the debate away from balanced budgets and onto the globalization agenda. Social programs are not the problem; the inequitable distribution of wealth is. We must find ways of getting the message out, of attracting the attention of the mainstream media. We must link the attack on social programs to the public relations campaigns mounted by the right, exposing the underlying agenda. There are roles for both academic adult educators and extension educators to play. The two groups should join forces and work together on this issue.

As university adult educators, we must be involved not only in research but in public education and public information campaigns. Simply staying within the university and trying to make adult education more central to the university is not enough. As long as people parrot the rhetoric "We can't afford social programs," university adult education will be in jeopardy. We are part of the larger struggle.

The right has captured the debate with populist sloganeering. The left has responded with academic conference papers, books, and articles in refereed journals. It is time for university adult educators to begin to popularize the other side of the issue and to work with groups which share our view on the importance of this battle.

Conclusion

Economic globalization is about "privatizing and commercializing our public sector and restructuring our society according to business values" (Calvert, 1993, p. 160). This will have serious consequences for post-secondary institutions.

While it is important to actively develop strategies to counter threats to university adult education in the current economic crisis, this cannot be done in isolation. As adult educators, we must become actively involved in education and information campaigns that will raise public awareness of the corporate agenda that is creating this crisis. It is not too late to begin.

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GLOBALISING UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION? MONEY, MARKETS, AND A SOUTH EAST ASIAN CHALLENGE TO WESTERN TRADITIONS[1]

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The dominant trend in twentieth-century Commonwealth university adult education has centred on the relationship of the University to its community. Though articulated in varying ways, this theme runs through the landmarks in the field. In Britain, it was reflected in such classic statements as the 1908 Conference on Oxford and Working Class Education, the 1918 Ministry of Reconstruction Report, the works of Robert Peers and Harold Wiltshire; the Russell Report and Thornton & Stephens (1977). In Canada, extension provided a method by which universities 'could provide practical service to the adult citizens of the province they served' (Selman 1994: 6). Post-war policies for university adult education in the British colonies reflected similar conceptions: 'The universities as we conceive them have ... a vital contribution to the community as a whole.' (Colonial Office 1945: p. 19)

Community is, of course, a contested concept (Kirkwood 1978): but throughout the twentieth century, university adult educators have seen their contribution as defined by a notion of locality. Adult educators sought to help the university serve 'its region' (Thornton & Stephens 1977); until very recently, Britain for university adult educators was divided up into areas for which specific universities were the 'responsible body' and into which no other university adult educator was to stray. The first President of the University of Saskatchewan envisaged, in 1908, an Extension Department 'making provision for local Technical Schools ... and lecture courses in local centres' (Murray & Murray 1984: 74); generally Extension in Canada's western universities started with 'the educational needs of the people of its region' (Selman 1994: 7). There was 'outreach', to be sure—the very terms 'extra-mural' and 'extension' implied taking university education out into the wider world—but this wider world was in a fundamental sense defined by the locality—city, county, province—which the university saw itself as serving.

This world is changing fast: the community to which universities can relate need no longer be bounded by locality or region. This paper is concerned with one important dimension of that change. First, I seek to show that western universities, and specifically western Commonwealth universities, now provide major programmes of adult education in South East Asia. Second, I provide some information about this phenomenon, which has emerged during the past decade: it is now possible to say something, for example, of which universities conduct this work and why, and of how it is developed and organised. I also attempt to explain some of these developments. Third, I raise a number of questions about the implications which these developments have for university adult educators.

Western Universities in South East Asia

It is difficult to date precisely the expansion of western university programmes in South East Asia. (I exclude, for this purpose, the argument that colonial universities in South East Asia, the first of which was established in 1911, were themselves 'western' universities.) The University of London was offering its external degrees, of course: the University of Hong Kong's extra-mural department was formally teaching for these as long ago as 1964. But it seems only in the mid-1980s that 'offshore' provision as presently understood began to grow apace. The phenomenon has been little studied, and there appears to be little evidence about the pace of growth in these early years. By the early 1990s,

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however, provision was already substantial and varied. In Hong Kong, for example, Lee & Lam (1994: 57) found 319 overseas educational institutions advertising in the press in 1993 (though they did not distinguish between universities and other types of institution). The Hong Kong Council for Academic Accreditation listed 69 overseas tertiary institutions (1994), while the most recent study has listed 295 separate courses offered to adults in Hong Kong by overseas institutions (Holford, Gardner & Ng 1995).

The phenomenon is not limited to Hong Kong. The Singapore Institute of Management enrols 8,000 students in 'imported' courses (Lee 1994); in Malaysia some 200 private sector colleges offer foreign programmes, and the University of London is planning to establish a college in the country. Among the universities of Australia and the U.K., at least, Thailand and Indonesia are the 'emerging markets'. Although the character of the provision, and the mechanisms of course delivery, vary—significantly—from country to country, this phenomenon is clearly significant and widespread.

The Nature of the Beast

Having said that the provision differs from country to country, we now proceed to a discussion based on the situation in Hong Kong. This is, of course, necessarily partial; we shall therefore complement the account with comments based on research in other countries.

The Providers. The key characteristic of western universities offering courses in South East Asia is that they are overwhelmingly either British or Australian. Of the 295 courses listed by Holford, Gardner and Ng (1995), British institutions accounted for 188 (63.7 per cent), while Australians with 60 (20.3 per cent) took up the bulk of the remainder. The north American contribution was trivial, with the USA offering just 12 programmes (4.1 per cent) and the Canadians only 6 (2.0 per cent). These figures are broadly comparable with the findings of Lee and Lam (1994: 57): for example, 43.56 per cent of the advertisements placed in the Hong Kong press by overseas educational institutions in 1993 advertised British programmes, while 20.37 per cent promoted Australian courses. The position in Singapore and Malaysia is similar: 'the U.K. and Australia are the major exporters with the U.S. and Canada ranking either third or fourth, depending on the particular location' (Lee n.d.: 9).

Within the exporter countries, development is also uneven. A relatively small number of British and Australian universities dominate the overseas market. Overall, the largest operator is almost certainly London (through its external division), but other British universities with high profiles in the Hong Kong market are Henley Management College, Heriot-Watt, Hull, Leicester, Paisley, and Wolverhampton. Among the Australian high-profile universities are Curtin, Deakin, Monash, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, and Southern Queensland.

The Programmes. Two features immediately strike the observer of programmes offered by western universities in Hong Kong. First, they are largely at postgraduate level (typically Masters degrees by coursework). The figure of 95 Masters degrees (one-third of the total number of courses listed by Holford, Gardner & Ng 1995) in fact rather understates the incidence of postgraduate programmes: many of the non-degree courses listed are in fact postgraduate certificates and diplomas of various kinds, while non-degree programmes also include a number of somewhat tenuous links with professional institutions in the U.K., and are thus not properly speaking university programmes. The number of undergraduate programmes offered is rather smaller. Other recent studies (Lee n.d.; Lee & Lam 1994) support the finding that degree programmes dominate, though they do not distinguish undergraduate from postgraduate programmes. In Malaysia it is likely that the predominance of postgraduate programmes is not so marked. (There is, unfortunately, little data available at present regarding the numbers of students enrolled in different levels of programme.)

The second feature is the dominance of Business and Management. In Hong Kong, the areas of Business, Management Human Resources and Marketing account for 92 courses, with others in related areas (e.g., Accounting: 10; Finance: 4; Economics: 3): rather over one-third of the total number of courses offered. (There are 39 MBAs alone.) Computer Studies and Information Technology (26), Education (23), and Law (15) are the next most popular subject

areas (in terms of numbers of courses offered) (Holford *et al.* 1995). As Lee (n.d.) remarks, courses related to service industries are most popular, and he suggests the same is true of Singapore and Malaysia. Rizvi and Alexander (1995) found that more than 75 per cent of students enrolled in Australian courses in Malaysia were taking commerce, economics and business management.

The Students. We have as yet relatively little reliable data about the students of these programmes. Of continuing education students in Hong Kong generally, we know that they are overwhelmingly in the age group 20-35, that there are rather more often women than men (in a ratio of roughly 6:4), and that they are disproportionately from white collar occupations. Blue collar workers and housewives are heavily under-represented. There is some evidence on the relative participation rates in award-bearing and non-award-bearing courses. The participation rates of men (compared with women), and of people aged 30-39 (compared with those aged 21-29), are somewhat better in the former than the latter, but the differences are relatively trivial. The chief contrasts are that Professionals and Administrative/Managerial occupations are much more strongly represented in award-bearing courses, while Clerks are much more strongly represented in non-award-bearing courses. (Chan & Holford 1994; Chung, Ho & Liu 1994). There are no data specifically relating to overseas courses.

In Malaysia, perhaps the most striking feature of the students taking imported courses is their ethnic composition. Nearly 70 per cent of students taking Australian courses there spoke Chinese at home (only 35 per cent of the Malaysian population is Chinese). This is linked to Malaysia's ethnic politics and in particular to the government's affirmative action policies which favour ethnic Malays. Many Chinese Malaysians feel excluded from Malaysia's public universities, which teach in Bahasa Malaysia. However, they also perceive English language degrees as more marketable in the private sector, both in Malaysia and abroad; in any case, they would be unlikely to secure positions in the private sector (Rizvi and Alexander 1995: 17). Although data are not available on this, it seems likely that students in western courses in Malaysia are rather younger than their Hong Kong counterparts, roughly at immediate post-school age.

International Trade in Higher Education: Causes and Conditions

The pattern, therefore, is that a relatively few institutions, from a relatively few countries, and concentrating on a relatively few subject areas, have been remarkably successful in developing programmes in the so-called 'newly industrialising countries' of South East Asia. How have they done it, and why? It is, I think, important to discuss two broad categories of factor: (a) general and political; (b) institution-specific.

There are a number of general and political factors which have created the conditions in which these developments can occur. They include:

Economic and Educational Development. The newly industrialising (or industrialised) economies of South East Asia are generating a strong demand for higher education. The structure of demand differs from country to country, but in general the provision of higher education opportunities by governments has been unable to keep up with the demand rapid expansion of demand. In Malaysia, for instance, *The Star* newspaper reported that some 55,111 students were enrolled in private institutions of post-secondary education in 1993; the figure for 1985 was 15,000. This figure is roughly one-third of the enrolment in publicly-funded universities, polytechnics and colleges, at certificate, diploma and degree level (roughly 152,000 in 1995) (Ng & Ho 1995).

Public Policy in the West. In addition to the demand-side factors originating in the economies of South East Asia, there are also supply-side factors: the most important has been the rapid shift in the public policy environment of higher education in the West. Broadly speaking, in Australia and the U.K. the 1980s and 1990s have seen declining public funding combined with the increasing power of market approaches. Efficiency comes only with market (rather than bureaucratic) allocation of resources: where markets do not exist, they have been invented. This has brought unprecedented changes to the internal management of higher education. At the same time, governments have sought to raise student numbers dramatically, and to do so (often) while reducing overall funding. The result is that many universities, and their departments, are now starkly conscious of the importance of generating income in various ways.

Linked to this has been a growing awareness that higher education may represent an area of comparative advantage for western economies. Such thinking may have been behind the adoption of 'full fee' policies for overseas students studying in Australia and the U.K. from the early 1980s. When linked to the increasing reliance on income generation, and (at least in the U.K.) periodic 'capping' of home student numbers, the high fee policy has made British and Australian universities highly conscious of South East Asia as a lucrative source of student fee income. Kemp (1995: 5) suggests that 'the "full-fee" policy ... has resulted in increased marketing and promotion of Australian education to overseas countries' and is an important factor in the high growth rate of foreign students studying in Australia in the 1980s. The Australian and British governments have both supported initiatives to market their education in South East Asia: there are, for example, nine Australian Education Centres in Asia, and the market is estimated to create 'more than $A1.7 billion in foreign export earnings ... each year' (Ellicott 1994).

Colonialism and the Role of English. The links between many of the South East Asian economies and the west are underscored by colonial pasts (or presents). In the case of Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong, these are vary clear. Affinities exist in university structures, the nature of school curricula and approaches to assessment. There are also strong informal ties between academics, as well as links between professional standards and institutions in many areas: for instance, accountancy, law and engineering. (Bray 1992; Morris 1995; Postiglione 1992). Educational systems of independent nations are, or course, not just mirrors of those of former colonial powers: but the affinities are strong. An important legacy of colonialism, especially strong in these countries, is the role of English.

The Diaspora of the Chinese. A strong, if apparently paradoxical, feature of the South East Asian market for western higher education is that the students are overwhelmingly ethnically Chinese. We have noted this in Malaysia; it is inevitably true in Hong Kong. Although the evidence is largely anecdotal at present, it seems probable that overseas Chinese networks play a significant part in the trade. This can, however, at best be a facilitating factor. Canadian connections with Hong Kong, for instance, are if anything stronger than Australia's. Migration from Hong Kong to Canada began much earlier, though Australia has succeeded in attracting the most highly-qualified migrants in terms of numbers of degree-holders and higher-level occupations (Skeldon 1994). Yet, as we have seen, the number of Canadian higher education programmes offered in Hong Kong is vastly lower.

Technological Advance. Underpinning the development of western programmes in South East Asia has been the technological advances made in recent years. This has two dimensions. On the one hand, changes in educational technology, particularly in distance learning, now allow provision using modes of course delivery not considered feasible until the last decade. On the other, the opportunities for international communication (from jet aeroplanes to fax and E-mail) have changed the ground-rules of international affairs. Just as university education extended from Britain's university cities to the provinces with the growth of the railways (Harrison 1961), so western universities extend internationally through late twentieth-century technology.

Conditions for Success: Institutional Strategies

While the growth of western university education for adults in South East Asia was stimulated, and has been supported, by economic, policy and cultural factors such as we have outlined, a key feature has been the business strategies (or at least, the business practice) of specific universities in the west, and of private and public sector organisations—universities and companies—in the region. Here the evidence currently available, and the variation as between the various countries in the region, makes generalisation rather more difficult.

Several different categories of organisation are active in the region. These can be categorised as follows:

Western Universities. The university in a western country can offer two key products on the international market: teaching (or some form of distance learning which replaces traditional teaching), and qualifications. The two are often linked, but teaching can be conducted elsewhere (e.g., by a South East Asian institution). Clearly the strategy of the university is critical to its success. While some universities have unified strategies

encompassing their entire institution, leading to unified approaches to marketing in South East Asia, others permit (or even encourage) their component departments and units to operate independently.

Western Private Sector Agencies. These are relatively small operators in the trade, but they have proved important in enabling certain universities or departments to make initial entry into the South East Asian Market, by having (or at least claiming) market expertise and links.

South East Asian Universities. Public-sector universities are not generally involved in offering western programmes in Malaysia or Singapore, but in Hong Kong a number of university continuing education units do offer the qualifications of foreign institutions. In some cases (such as the School of Professional and Continuing Education at the University of Hong Kong), these have become high-profile operators, able to select the western programmes which they wish to offer. These units operate on something approaching a full-cost-recovery basis.

South East Asian Private Sector Agencies. These are major operators, especially in Malaysia and Singapore; in Hong Kong, they are typically small, but control an important sector of the market. There has been little research on these companies. Some (such as HELP in Malaysia) are well-established, with genuine reputations in their own right. Others are far more marginal operators, whose reputations (if any) would be dubious. A British university, for instance (the University of Abertay-Dundee), found it necessary in 1994 to litigate in relation to its dealings with private sector agency in Hong Kong. Interviews with staff from other western universities indicate that while litigation may be rare, difficulties are not uncommon in this sector. Academics have sometimes stepped into this field with very little understanding of the issues involved in doing business in South East Asia.

Mazzarol (1994) proposes a model which,although designed chiefly with regard to the competitiveness of Australia's 'on-shore' programmes, is helpful in identifying keyareas for consideration. He bases it on general marketing literature, and suggests a number of factors need to be considered:

Quality of image or reputation. Reputation is the key variable here, with the overall standing of the institution outweighing that of individual programmes. In fact, of course, relatively few 'offshore' programmes are offered by universities in the first rank of international standing (the University of London is probably the chief exception, though that is a complex creature).

Market Profile. This is about the prominence of the institution in the specific market. Relatively low prestige universities, for instance, may attempt to overcome their disadvantages in that regard by strong promotion campaigns. For example: 'Word of mouth referrals from trusted advisers, or the use of student testimonials in promotion material seem to increase consumer's *[sic]* knowledge of the service provided and, therefore, their control over the purchase decision' Mazzarol (1994: 7).

Coalition Formation. Coalitions, or strategic alliances, can bring benefits such as established distribution channels, sources of finance, and expertise. This lies behind the extensive 'twinning' arrangements in Malaysia, and comparable arrangements in Hong Kong. It may also involve construction of alliances with competitors: the British Council and Australian Education Centres can be considered in this light.

Degree of Forward Integration. Education cannot easily be packaged and exported offshore (unlike manufactured goods). Forward integration, such as the provision of part-time programmes in Malaysia in place of first year full-time study in Australia and the U.K., provides a 'competitive advantage'. As Mazzarol comments, the need for forward integration may increase as more countries demand greater participation in their students' education.

Organisational Knowledge and Expertise. The intellectual ability and quality of an organisation's staff can provide a key competitive advantage. In the educational case, this can be either through depth of relevant academic knowledge, or through knowledge of the functioning of the markets in question.

Organisational Culture. Does the organisation have a so-called 'service culture', in which there is good communication, for instance, between students and administrative staff? Or are staff suspicious of marketing issues, feeling that students need to conform to the organisation's norms?

Effective Use of Information Technology. As the complexity of use of information increases, this becomes more critical. A number of courses, for instance, use video conferencing for teaching purposes, but effective use of technology applies to administration as well as teaching and learning.

This approach gives some structure to an analysis of the phenomenon. It allows us to say something of which institutions will succeed, and why. It also, however, ignores many significant educational questions: some, of course, can be articulated—though arguably in a distorted form—in the language of quality assurance and market profile. But issues of curriculum are unlikely to be addressed fully from this perspective.

Conclusion: Implications for Adult Education

Several key issues emerge from this new trade in western higher education. It is very often (though not always) adult education, in the sense that the students are over 18 years of age, and studying on a part-time basis. It is not, however, typically conducted by sections of the universities which have any long-standing connection with adult education—let alone by people who would think of themselves as 'adult educators'. They chief personalities are universities' International and Marketing staff. There are some academics, but even they are typically entrepreneurs, buccaneers of international education. The ethos is predominantly one of trade and business: there is little sense of a distinct field (as adult educators have managed, albeit perhaps temporarily, to construct).

This raises questions for adult education. Despite the claims of many adult educators that their links with the community put them at the cutting edge in universities, and make them a key force for institutional change (cp e.g. Duke 1992), have they not in reality often been highly conservative? The conception of community in which adult education discourse is grounded is essentially a localised one. The theories and ideologies generated by much of 'adult education' in Britain and North America have rightly given prominence to the 'needs' of identifiable communities: central planks of the adult education literature of (programme planning, for instance: cp Blackburn & Lamble 1994) rests heavily on such assumptions. (It is worth remarking that many if not most of the western courses in South East Asia are not, in the conventional sense, distance education: that literature is also largely redundant.) So adult education lacks a literature which addresses the needs of practitioners in this developing area.

By the same token, the paradigms of adult educational practice have not placed adult education at the forefront of this new trade. Adult education in the west has tended to be needs-driven: identifying, articulating, and even creating, needs in communities which the market does not effectively address. (To the extent that western adult educators have operated internationally, it has been in from an analogous 'development' perspective.) Western provision of education in South East Asia, on the contrary, has been market-driven. The needs to be addressed are precisely those which the market articulates: any market failures are for the governments of South East Asia to address, not for the western universities.

Finally, however, there is an important dimension to be considered. How far are we in an era of globalisation, with which the paradigms of (adult) educational discourse—both in theory and practice—are increasingly unable to cope? Education, particularly higher education, is no longer bounded by provincial and national frontier. It is, in a very important sense, a service industry in which suppliers can—if they choose—operate on a global level. International recruitment of full-time students has long been with us, and clearly many universities are adept at this 'trade'. But universities can and do now provide part-time education to adults on an international scale.

Clearly there is, at the least here, a challenge to theory and professional education. We need to develop studies of this phenomenon which will address issues of programme planning and curriculum delivery in an international context. We need to know about what the impact of the trade is, both in

western universities and in South East Asia. To what extent, for instance, is it altering the curriculum of university courses taught in Britain and Australia? Is this international trade in higher education a permanent phenomenon? If so, we must look to long-term implications for university curricula, structures, governance, and relationships with national states: international coalitions are now beginning to be formed, but are we in the very early stages of such developments?

Finally, in the development of theory we shall need to look to other theoretical traditions: not only to marketing, but perhaps more importantly to studies of globalisation in the sociological and political economy traditions. For example, the notion of global commodity chains, 'sets of interorganizational networks clustered around one commodity or product linking households, enterprises, and states to one another within the world-economy' (Gereffi & Korzeniewicz 1994: 2), provides an important insight into the development of such an industry on an international scale, to the distribution of power within it, and to the product development and labour processes. Like it or not, we are moving into a world in which higher education is an integral part of a global capitalist system: we must understand how it functions.

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Tables

Table 1: Part-time Programmes for Adults offered by Overseas Universities: Hong Kong 1995/96: by Country and Level

	Non Deg	Bac Deg	Mas Deg	Total
Australia	22	18	20	60
Canada	4	1	1	6
Ireland	-	1	-	1
France	10	-	-	10
Macau	2	3	1	6
New Zealand	1	1	2	4
PR China	4	1	3	8
U.K.	96	31	61	188
U.S.A.	3	2	7	12
Total	142	58	95	295

Source: Calculated from Holford, Gardner & Ng (1995).

Table 2: Overseas Courses offered in Hong Kong in association with Australian and U.K. institutions: by Subject Area

Subject areas with five courses or more:

Subject	All Courses	Australia	U.K.
Accounting	10	6	2
Ad. Ed. & Training	5	-	4
Computer Studies	15	3	11
Information Technology	11	5	5
Construction	8	-	7
Education	23	4	19
Engineering	5	2	3
Engineering, Manufact.	5	-	5
Law	15	-	12
Business	21	6	11
Management	30	10	17
Business Admin.	23	3	13
Human Res. Mgmt.	6	2	4
Marketing	10	2	8
Music, Dance & Drama	5	-	5
Nursing Studies	5	5	-
Social Sciences	11	-	9
Textiles & Clothing	6	-	6

Subject areas with 1-5 courses:

Architecture 2; Art & Design 2; Building & Real Estate 2; Commerce 3; Commercial Studies 1; Economics 3; Education, English 2; Engineering, Civil & Struct. 2; Engineering, Elec. & Elec. 1; Engineering, Electronic 1; Engineering, Manufacturing 1; English, Teacher Training 1; English, Business 1; Environmental Studies 1; Finance 4; Floral Design 1; French 9; Humanities 1; Insurance 1; Jewellery & Gems 2; Library Studies 2; Linguistics 1; Management, Quality 2; Pharmacy 4; Portuguese 1; Psychology 1; Science 3; Science, Medical, Biomedical & Health 4; Secretarial Studies 2; Sports & Recreation Sts. 4; Training & Retraining 1; Translation 2; Urban Studies 4; Water & Water Treatment 2;

Subject Areas in which no overseas courses are offered in Hong Kong (but in which courses are offered by local institutions):

Beauty & Cosmetics; Cantonese; Chinese Studies; Engineering & Fabrication (Marine); Engineering (Electrical); Engineering (Industrial); English; English (Professional); General Education; General Studies; German; Hairdressing; Health & Safety; Hotel, Catering & Tourism; Industrial Studies; Italian; Japanese; Journalism & Communication; Korean; Labour Education; Maritime Studies; Mathematics; Media; Motor Vehicle Engineering & Repair; Printing; Putonghua; Russian; Science (Chemistry); Science (Materials); Science (Physics); Spanish; Statistics; Study Skills; Surveying; Taxation.

INNOVATION IN THE UNIVERSITY CONTEXT FOR EDUCATING ADULT EDUCATORS

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When a university makes a very limited commitment to educating professional adult educators and/or human resource developers, it is not only startling but also sometime shocking. This calls for pondering on the part of those persons interested in educating these professionals. This also requires innovation for developing and maintaining university based study of Adult and Continuing Education.

Commitment in a University has been primarily focused on research and knowledge generation that may or may not have some direct impact within the context of society. Even where universities have considered colleges or schools of education to be of some importance, they have directed their attention toward serving the personnel needs of the schools with students from kindergarten through twelfth or thirteenth grades. Preparing teachers of adults for working in any context was not considered a worthy program for committing resources by universities in the United States until the first courses in Adult Education were offered in 1929 by Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. Subsequently, support for and withdrawal of support for educating adult educators has been evident with the rise and fall of theoretical, political, social, and economic fortunes of universities. Although adult educator and human resource developer preparation programs within the university are according to Duke, (1989) most commonly located in faculties of education, various institutional arrangements support different views as to whether adult education is a distinct field or discipline or, rather, a subsystem of general education. Jarvis and Chadwick (1994, p. 6437) identify a world wide trend toward university programs for studying adult education and human resources development together. There seems to be little evidence which would suggest these programs will dwindle away in large numbers since they currently number more than three hundred within universities in the USA alone.

Background of Questions

Despite exponential growth of USA programs, to more than three hundred and many more in other countries, in this field of university study in the past sixty-five years, some programs have been or are being phased out: Indiana University, Virginia Commonwealth University, Syracuse University, University of Missouri-Kansas City, Florida State University, University of Northern Colorado, Dalhousie University, and Arizona State University to name a few. Furthermore, questions continued to arise and persist regarding whether, if, and how universities need or should be involved in preparing educators of adults and/or human resource developers. Such questions as follows are representative.

Why should education of adult educators be within a university? How does the study of adult education fit within the context of lifelong learning? What are the theories of how adults learn and the benefits of these to other areas of education? How can adult education address the expansion of learning into corporations and institutions other than schools? What are the varieties of backgrounds and organizations represented by the students studying to be adult educators? How can university administration be kept informed on what is transpiring in adult education so their "buy-in" is maintained or increased? What organizational structure is necessary for preparing adult educators? How does the level of program productivity in student numbers and where they serve effect the mission of the university? What does adult education as vocation contribute to those seeking to counter the pressure organizations

increasingly place upon people to conform? How can adult education tap all the rich educational resources within the university? How does the quality of instruction and methods for conducting university adult education courses impact and inform other disciplines and fields of study within the university? Is it important to have university adult educators influence the learning process as it is manifested in other institutional contexts as well as the community? What kinds of coalitions can and should adult educators build with other disciplines and professionals within the university?

The list could go on, but some of these questions are considered and addressed in this paper. Its focus is on literature in the field that provides insight and responses to some of the questions, a case illustration of the types of innovation used in one university program educating educators of adults that have helped maintain and provide growth despite minimal university resources being devoted to that program, and highlighting coalitions which have been built with other university colleagues resulting in strengthening the position of adult education as an area of study within that university.

Historical Perspective

In the early 1970's, the University of Missouri at St. Louis offered a few graduate courses for adult educators and human resource developers in the metropolitan area. As time passed, the Department of Administration, Foundations and Secondary Education (later changed name to the Department of Educational Studies) in the UM-St. Louis, School of Education developed an Adult Education Emphasis area within their Master of Education in Secondary Education degree program. This also allowed for an Adult Education Concentration area within the Doctor of Education Degree in Educational Leadership offered by the School of Education.

Although in the late '70s and early '80s there was a full time professor position devoted to this area of study, the program did not draw many students. However, when the professor moved to an adult education faculty position at another university, University of Missouri-St. Louis dropped their professorial position to fifty percent appointment with the other fifty percent of the split appointment devoted to Continuing Education Specialist in University Extension with University of Missouri and Lincoln University. Malcolm Knowles (1990, p. 95) suggested that, in developing institutional change including building and maintaining university adult education programs, a strategy available to all of us which in the long run probably produces the most stable, lasting, and constructive change, is by piloting or demonstration and osmosis. In the Summer of 1983, this author was named to this joint appointment position with half of his time devoted to being Associate Professor of Education, Department of Educational Studies, School of Education, University of Missouri-St. Louis. Beginning the Fall 1983 semester to the present time including 1995 Winter semester, there have been a total of **2,290** graduate course enrollments in Adult Education, as follows: Adult Education classes - 880; combined with Community Education - 151; Video Instructional Program - 135; Adult Basic Education - 1,007; National Satellite Course - 40; Adult Education Telecourse - 65; University Extension Class - 22.

These students represent a rich diversity of work settings numbering forty-eight including: Industries—Aerospace, Automotive, Beverage, Airline, Electrical, Tire and Rubber, Telecommunications, Riverboat Casino; Businesses—Banking, Investment Stock and Bond Brokerage, Real Estate, Development and Marketing, Media Productions; Government—Military, Postal, Social Service, Regulatory Agencies, Defense Mapping; Hospitality—Food Service, Hotel, Travel Agencies; Education—University and College, Pre-School, K-12, Public and Private, Conferencing, Literacy, Community College, Private Consulting, Proprietary and Technical Schools, Adult Basic Education, University Extension; Healthcare—Hospitals, Nurses, Allied Health, Ambulance and Emergency Services; and Religious—Churches, Synagogues, Seminaries, Mission Boards, Volunteers. These students represented at least 3,000 other class enrollments in courses taught by other professors which they were required to take to complete their degree programs. Thus, their presence and perspectives on learning interacted with how learning was conducted in those classes and with other than adult education and human resource development students.

Currently, there are eighty active Master Degree students at some stage in their program, with one

hundred twenty-five having been graduated since 1983. There are currently five active Bachelor Degree students taking a few graduate courses by special permission in the program with five having been graduated since 1983. Currently, there are thirty active Doctoral students (the largest number advised by any faculty member in the School of Education at the University of Missouri-St. Louis) moving through their academic program, with sixteen having been graduated since 1983. This author has been and is major advisor in Adult Education to each of them, served as Committee Member on twelve Doctoral Dissertations now completed and as Committee Chair of four Doctoral Dissertations now completed. Eleven of the doctoral graduates now serve in faculty positions in eight colleges and universities in three countries. This student load indicated is well above the recommendations which the Commission of Professors of Adult Education set in their Standards for Graduate Programs (Brookfield, 1988). In 1985, an advisory group was formed to help guide the Adult Education Program and a descriptive brochure was printed but never reprinted. Recruitment has been almost exclusively by "word of mouth" to others from those coming through the program. Despite an additional adult education full time faculty position having been included in eight of ten of the University's most recent "five year plans", no new adult education faculty has been searched for or hired. Nevertheless, the program has continued to grow. This author served as Chair of the Department of Educational Studies between 1985-1990 which has twenty-seven faculty professors in seven different Educational Subject Areas: Administration, Foundations, Secondary, Adult, Community, Business, and Technology.

Continuing Professional Self-Development

Numerous writers (Jarvis, 1990; Marquardt, 1993; Knowles, 1989; Knoll, 1989, In Titmus; Snege, 1990; watkins and Marsick, 1993) imply and openly state that persons and organizations that survive in the future will need to be continuously learning. This would also be important for keeping current and developing innovations that would maintain and enhance the Adult Education and Human Resource Development Program within the University of Missouri—St. Louis.

From 1983 to 1995, this author/adult educator: made eighty-six presentations to Adult Education Conferences, Workshops, or In-service Education gatherings; and, researched and published twenty-five articles in refereed publications, and six articles in non-referred publications. Eleven of the refereed articles were completed through 1990, sufficient to gain appointment to the University of Missouri Doctoral Faculty, a status which allows one to chair doctoral dissertation committees. This appointment is for six years at which time reappointment may be applied for. The remaining thirteen referred articles between 1991 and 1996 plus two other articles possibly to be published before 1996, and chairing of six doctoral dissertation committees and member on five others all completed and graduated should make it possible for a six year reappointment to the Doctoral Faculty in 1996. The major purpose of this exercise is to be able to serve the doctoral students more effectively. This also helps keep this author's professional development current which in turn helps in teaching all students. It also demonstrates to faculty colleagues an interest and commitment to a quality standard despite the author being on a non-tenure track position, with no requirement for publication connected with his remaining a UM-St. Louis faculty member.

Collaboration and Coalition Building

Dr. Henry Weinstock, a Philosophy of Education Professor and this author, who are both in the Educational Studies Department at the University of Missouri, have jointly presented and published to adult education audiences and readerships numerous times on the place of adult education within the university context. This has built understanding and support for adult education at the university. Working with at least three other professors (who are in other than Adult Education subject areas) on each of sixteen Adult Education/Human Resources Development Dissertations, built in those professors an understanding of this new field of study. It also built some interest and investment on their part and a cooperative spirit into helping this program area succeed.

Faculty and School of Education support for this area of study has now reached the point of proposing a special Doctoral Emphasis Area in Adult and

Higher Education with possible sub-specializations in Human Resources Development, Community Education, and Vocational Business Education. In addition, some faculty time is being devoted within the School of Education to completing an application to the Missouri State Department of Education to regain Adult Basic Education Certification approval.

Professional Associations and Networking

Professional Associations have long been a source for continuing learning in the adult education field. Consequently, this author has served as an officer in various Regional, Local, State, National and International Adult Education Organizations. And when those conferences (eight of them since 1983) have met in St. Louis this author made arrangements for his students to attend, facilitate, and participate in them to be able to interact with and learn from what is going on in this field of study.

He has also taught internationally at several universities in South America and Europe, and had academic Adult Education interns from the University of Missouri accompanying him on the educational exchanges. International students in the UM-St. Louis program have been from seventeen countries. An official faculty exchange program is now being negotiated with the Federal University of Para, Brazil, the largest University in the eight countries comprising the Amazon River Basin with 35,000 students on eight campuses, including through their distance learning technology.

Structure of the Program

Advocated by Hall and Kidd (1978, in Titmus,1989), Campbell (1977, in Titmus, 1989), UNESCO (1981, in Titmus, 1989), Directorate of Adult Education in India (1978, in Titmus, 1989), and Knowles (1989), to name a few, the Adult Education Program at University of Missouri-St. Louis is structured and conducted so that theory and practice are congruent, using activity and experience based learning techniques, project methods, learning contracts, self-directed learning, group presentations, based in a theoretically and educationally sound foundation. This is certainly in line with this author's personal rule for having God's Word-The Bible as a lamp to his feet and a light to his path, when in the Bible Book of James it says, "Be a doer of the Word of God and not a hearer only."

In addition, Weinstock (1994) clarified that the Adult Education Program has: Instructor determined grading standards; a theory-based, logically consistent body of knowledge; student requirements situated within a framework of specific course and program content; and, scholarly graduate research which is consistent with the field of Education.

Summary

The summary and conclusion of the innovation in the University of Missouri-St. Louis context for educating adult educators may be wrapped up in answer to the question: Why should the education of adult educators be in the context of a university and not elsewhere? First, there are rich resources for adult learning in a university which could not be taken advantage of if the education of adult educators is conducted elsewhere. Second, although universities are not primarily focused on adult education, according to Knowles (1977) adult education tends to flourish when attached to an organization formed originally for another purpose. Third, and beyond the first two, a case for innovation has been made in this paper which includes: A University Context of Adult Education Graduate Programs; A Background of Questions for Consideration, An Historical Perspective of the Program Growth at University of Missouri—St. Louis; The Necessity and Fulfillment of Continuing Professional Development; Collaboration and Coalition Building; Professional Associations and Networking; and, The Structure of the UM-St. Louis Program. It is hoped that the progress and changes taking place in that university and its role of educating adult educators and human resources developers have been and will continue to be accomplished by what Knowles (1989) labeled as piloting, demonstration and osmosis.

Although these principles could not be applied in every detail to every other program, there are ideas and lessons that can be extrapolated from this one experience and applied elsewhere to benefit. Let the reader(s) make the determination, choice, commitment, testing and evaluation of the applications.

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RESEARCH INTO ADULT SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING IN BRITAIN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATING THE ADULT EDUCATOR

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1. Self-directed learning in North America: a major growth industry.

It is with something like awe that a British continuing educator in North America approaches the topic of adult self-directed learning. In the United States and Canada over the past twenty-five years there has been an enormous outpouring of self-directed, informal and independent learning by adults. Candy (1991) has observed that discussion of 'self-direction' has become a 'major—perhaps the major—growth industry' in North American study of continuing education. Brockett and Hiemstra (1991) have suggested that self-directed learning, in recent decades in the United States, been the most extensively researched area of continuing education, apart from adult participation in formal provision.

There are two puzzles, at least, for a British observer contemplating this considerable field of North American endeavour. The first is, why is it so extensive? The second is, why is there nothing comparable in the United Kingdom? With regard to the first question there is at least a suspicion that the answer is deceptively easy: that there is no single concept or phenomenon of adult self-directed learning. Rather there are many bundled together under a label of convenience and it may be self-defeating to examine the label too closely. Caffarella and O'Donnell's conclusion, after conducting their own review of the self-directed learning literature, is attractive:

> "it is very easy to over define a phenomenon. This leads to the concept becoming vacuous in either of two directions: (1) the concept may become empty through applying to nothing at all or (2) through applying to everything, it loses its usefulness as a distinguishing factor!" (**op. cit,** 1988, 41).

In fact, it does seem that the North American interest in self-directed learning has opened up a rich seam of theoretical discussion and empirical enquiry that reaches to the very foundations of the professional continuing education superstructure. One interpretation, at least to a trans-Atlantic eye, is that the whole endeavour can be traced back to the notions of adulthood, of the adult as a 'self-directing personality' wishing not to be dependent upon a teacher, that permeated andragogy, the 'new technology of the education of adults' of the late 1960s and 1970s (Knowles, 1970). The literature can then be understood as dividing into two major branches. One, a reaction against mass college teaching, was concerned with motivating and educating students in colleges and classes to take responsibility for their own learning, to be self-directing, and with persuading instructors to build around them learning environments that would make this possible. The second branch followed Allen Tough of Ontario (see Tough 1967, 1971) on the logical path of supposing that adults as 'self-directing personalities' might decide for themselves to undertake learning away from formal structures of learning. Therefore, it would be a worthwhile empirical task to identify, chart and understand 'major learning efforts' in the community which were deliberate, intentional, planned and self-directed but not necessarily supported by continuing educators. The replications and commentaries upon Tough's work are remarkable in their number: largely they confirmed his initial insights. However, as is the way with the academic world, the field moved on later to question, firstly, his methodology and findings and secondly, his restriction of the endeavour to enquiries into deliberate and planned adult self-directed learning.

The other puzzle for the British observer is why this important—if frontierless—theoretical debate and considerable corpus of research has been so little

noticed in the United Kingdom and hardly replicated there at all. There appear to be at least two kinds of explanation for this contrast. One is structural; academic study and research into continuing education in the United Kingdom has not reached the critical mass and level of activity that would allow a volume of replication studies series of academic dialogues and networks of research students and assistant professors to emerge to coalesce and to cooperate around the focus of self-directed study, as they have in North America. The other reason relates to the pragmatism of British continuing education and to the narrow purposes for which continuing education research funding is available. British continuing educators talk almost exclusively about participation in courses and classes, about motivation, marketing and student drop-out, about money. Research into learning what adults dare to do away from these concerns is not perceived, **prima facie,** as relevant.

2. British research into adult self-directed learning

Hypothetically, of course, adult self-directed learning external to formally-provided programmes (with which the remainder of this paper will be concerned) might be a relatively rare phenomenon in the United Kingdom. However, such research as there has been suggests not. It is interesting to look for the issues with which British researchers have been concerned, and to try to discern the conclusions—such as they are—which they have reached.

The most prolific published British writer on self-directed learning is Stephen Brookfield. Ironically, however, most of Brookfield's work has been published in the United States and most of it is theoretically based. The most significant piece of empirical work in the area undertaken by him appears to have been his doctoral dissertation of 1980 based on fieldwork undertaken in a small town in the rural West Midlands of England. Brookfield undertook a series of qualitative interviews with twenty-five adults who were acknowledged as experts in their chosen field. Brookfield's findings emphasised the longevity of respondents' learning projects; that their projects rarely had a beginning or an end; that respondents used a variety of methods of enquiry at different times and for different purposes; that they often belonged to voluntary organisations or interest groups; and were familiar with evaluating their learning through subjective or objective indices (Brookfield 1980).

Percy **et al** (1988) undertook a study of 523 voluntary organisations in the north west of England. It was not, therefore, an enquiry into self-directed learning as such, but it did reach conclusions which are relevant. Percy **et al** found significant quantities of adult learning activity in voluntary organisations— organisations which spanned the complete gamut of human interests from special interests and hobbies to political activity and community support and welfare. The learning activity ranged from formal accredited learning to what the study labelled as apprenticeship learning, learning from experience, even learning through social interaction. Often the 'learners' did not recognise themselves as such; they gave full accounts of their learning, even showed how they evaluated their progress, but often claimed that they had never before thought of it as learning. Some, indeed, were unhappy to describe the processes involved as 'learning' or 'education'.

Sargant (1990) reported on a large-scale (4,608 adults) national market research survey of adults' learning and leisure activities. Somewhat buried in a mass of information was the finding that 10% of the sample indicated that they were not participating in any kind of formal provision of continuing education at the time of the interview, nor had done so in the previous three years, but that they were 'studying informally'. 'Informal study', apparently, was particularly popular with young adults, aged 20-24 years. Moreover, topics of 'informal study' were often work-related. 47% of informal learners undertook their learning activity in the home.

Strong (1977) sought to replicate Tough's methodology in a study of eighteen further education (roughly equivalent to community college) lecturers. Despite an initial difficulty in achieving the recognition of learning projects by subjects, Strong eventually concluded that her sample exhibited a greater disposition to self-teaching than did Tough's respondents. Most often cited learning projects were work-related.

This necessarily brief review of the sparse range of empirical studies of self-directed learning in the United Kingdom does show an orientation different from that in the American literature—at least, the

earlier literature which used Tough's work as its chief stimulus. The emphasis is not upon the documenting of planned and deliberate learning projects; self-directed learning in the British enquiries emerges less as marked by an intention to learn and more by engagement in a process which is difficult to delimit. It may be unconscious or unlabelled as learning ; it regularly takes place in the home; it is often work-related.

3. Lancaster research into adult self-directed learning: empirical studies of informal carers and disabled adults

In 1992-93 a Lancaster University research project sought to review the extant corpus of knowledge on self-directed learning and to apply some of the key concepts to a limited empirical enquiry. The project came to be influenced by concepts such as the 'organizing circumstance' (Spear and Mocker 1984) and 'learning clusters' (Spear 1988) in seeking to understand self-directed learning activity as an observable phenomenon among adults which could not be properly characterised as discrete, intentional, deliberate or planned. Two groups of adults were chosen for study on the grounds that their social circumstances and physical conditions made it less likely that they would be able to participate in formally provided programmes of continuing education. The two groups were informal carers (i.e. adults who cared on a permanent basis for another adult, usually a relative, in their home because of illness or other incapacity without payment) and disabled adults. The full reports of the research are available as Percy, Burton and Withnall 1995a and 1995b. A few salient observations, only, are drawn out here.

The projects undertook a questionnaire study of 117 informal carers and an interview study of small numbers of informal carers (8) and of disabled adults (10). The enquiries were relatively open-ended and focussed upon possible learning that might be associated with the social role (being a carer) or the physical condition (being disabled) and also upon learning that was connected to the respondents' 'spare-time' activities or interests. Four conclusions, relating to process, resources, circumstance and evaluation can be abstracted for the purposes of this paper.

3.1.The process of self-directed learning

Despite, or perhaps because of, their circumstances, most of these adults could be recognised as self-directing learners. However, it is difficult to decide upon which of those three words the emphasis should be put. Certainly not upon 'directing'. The process of learning was not so much directed as evolutionary or emergent; it certainly could not be described as planned. Carers acknowledged that they had to learn to be carers; they had also maintained interests or activities about which they learned, even if they has less time than formerly. Learning, such as it was, had to be fitted in with the primary tasks—for the carers of caring and competing the domestic routine, for the disabled of dealing with the demands of the disability. In a sense learning 'happened'; it could be serendipitous; it was frequently incomplete; but on reflection the respondents could piece together often complex processes of learning activity which clustered around a particular need or interest.

In a thought-provoking empirical study of family care giving for the elderly in Wisconsin (which in many ways parallels the Lancaster study), Hasselkus and Ray report that analysis of their ethnographic data caused the writers to change their definition of informal learning from that of 'the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experience and exposure to the environment' to that of 'the lifelong process of reflection - in- action .... by which every person makes meaning out of their experiences and life situations' (Hasselkus and Ray, 1988, 32). We, however, found both definitions to be relevant to the Lancaster data.

3.2.Learning resources

Respondents used learning resources which were at hand. There was no doubt about it. They rarely went far from the home for these resources and, in the case of these two groups of adults, could only do so with difficulty. Learning resources were often people and the people were regularly relatives or friends. Even with areas of learning that related to technical knowledge or expertise (such as medical conditions and prognoses and welfare financial entitlements), these adults did not necessarily use professionals or para professionals (medical, health

or social service personnel) as resources. Carers often expressed doubt about the expertise of the professionals in relation to the special circumstances of the care-receiver or of the disabled adult. It was not always the case that the professional was accessible when needed.

3.3.Organizing circumstance

It was helpful to conceptualise the learning activity of these adults as occasioned and circumscribed by their particular circumstances. However, we were unconvinced that the 'circumstance' always 'organized'. That is to say, we traced instances in which important, even needed, learning did not take place. The circumstance required it, the resources for learning were not available in the proximity of the adults, and they did not set out to find them. We found it more appropriate to think of circumstances as triggers, no more; and we came to lay emphasis on the notion of the 'contiguous resource' as central to the learning environment of these adults.

3.4.Evaluation of self-directed learning.

It is not clear that these adults evaluated for their own purpose the processes of self-directed learning in which they engaged. However, when asked to reflect, they had little difficulty in indicating the means through which such evaluation could take place. For example, carers compared their care and its development with that provided by professional careers: always the former was judged superior to the latter. With regard to spare-time activities it was remarkable to what extent many of these adults could nominate external indices for evaluation—awards and certificates, invitations to talk or exhibit, requests for advice, offers of payment.

Nevertheless, such evaluation remained largely subjective. We think that our enquiries showed that self-directed learning could be incomplete, inadequate, frustrating or misdirected. In those respects, of course, it was not necessarily different from formal provision of continuing education.

4. Implications for professional continuing education; and educating the continuing educator

In our publications to date on the Lancaster research discussed above (Percy, Burton and Withnall 1995a and 1995b) we have somewhat timidly tried to conclude by sketching out broad implications of our research for the formal system of continuing education in the United Kingdom. We have not succeeded in reaching much beyond the rhetorical. For example we say "we have a lack of empirical knowledge". However, if that knowledge were available, what would follow, we ask,

> "for the formal system of continuing education? Would the latter then be shown to be costly, not relevant, wrong-headed, able to be discarded? Would professional continuing educators prove to be unnecessary? Almost certainly not. The more likely prospect would be that better knowledge would allow the twin phenomena of formal and informal adult learning to complement each other as part of the whole apparatus known as lifelong learning" (Percy, Burton and Withnall, 1995a, 38).

Collins would probably dismiss that conclusion as pious and naive. In a thrusting (and self-defined 'iconoclastic') paper (Collins 1995), he makes evident his suspicions of 'technicist and pseudo scientific' continuing educators invading adult self-directed learning and, in effect, seeking to control and to regiment it under the cloak of facilitation. For example, he makes a swingeing attack upon Tough's works "construing self-directed learning in such a way as to provide an arena for professional intervention by adult education practitioners":

> "they do not endeavour to explore the meanings, in context, and cognitive structures that adults bring to their learning endeavours. On the contrary, self-initiated learning, as conceptualised in these studies, has been reduced to a series of elements and tasks that are accommodative to institutionalised (especially professionalised) needs" (Collins, 1995, 23).

Is there no middle way? Must the discussion of these issues be polarised either as (1) the whole field of adult self-directed learning demoting professional continuing education to the status of a minority concern or (2) as the threat of technico-rational institutionalised society, manifested in its continuing education structures, taking control of the freedom of the self-directed learner?

The available literature on adult self-directed learning does not take us very far on these questions. Caffarella and O'Donnell (1987) have pointed out that in the voluminous catalogue of writings on self-directed learning little emphasis has been given to the role of the continuing educator. There are, of course, some useful pieces. Harris (1989), selecting 'reflection' as the key contribution which a continuing education facilitator can input into the self-directed learning process, writes of the continuing educator 'serving as a model' as 'perhaps the key' (1989, 112). Garrison, in useful articles on self-directed learning and distance learning (1987,1989), comments on what should be the real concern of the continuing education— "the influence and facilitation of learning within the natural societal setting in an 'active, initiating and constructivist' manner" (Garrison, 1987, 316). Brookfield has uttered a range of relevant things, but sometimes in different directions. On the one hand, in relation to self-directed learning "we must address what we can do to help those individuals to conduct successful learning efforts" (Brookfield 1985, 6-7); on the other "over-identification of researchers and practitioners in adult education with the concept of self-directed learning is very dangerous" (Brookfield, 1988, 12).

The difficulty, of course, is that the discussion easily topples over the edge into being too ambitious. It is dealing with the whole canvas, foreground and background, detail and broad perspective. Self-directed learning in institutionalised settings; intentional, deliberate planned learning efforts away from institutions; unplanned, serendipitous, incidental (as some would term it) learning in the community— the discussion of implications for continuing educators cannot encompass all of these simultaneously. Let us confine ourselves, then, to the latter and, in particular seek to pick up implications of the limited British research to date.

How could 'incidental' adult self-directed learning have any implications for professional continuing educators, and further, for their education and training? If there is no intention on behalf of the learners, how could an educator assist them in a meaningful way? If there is no intention, there can be no objective. Hence facilitative support and meaningful evaluation become difficult. If learners take the resources immediately to hand and rarely consider 'a variety of alternatives in the selection of the resources' (Spear, 1988, 201) on what basis could a continuing educator contribute to the provision of resources? And would not Collins be right in suggesting that there is something sinister in continuing educators (whether you regard them as representatives of institutionalised society or as well-meaning professionals with a predetermined set of values and attitudes) intervening in this arena?

The contention of this paper is that continuing educators cannot turn their backs on 'incidental' adult self-directed learning without being marginalised. We are struck by a number of propositions, some of which are admittedly hypothetical at this stage, but others are at least quasi-empirical— (1) most, if not all, adults engage in 'incidental' self-directed learning; (2) they do so in ways arising from their circumstances and contexts, their stages and phases of life, their aspirations and experience; (3) they also do in relation to their interests and special activities, those areas of life which arise from their individual curiosities; (4) the self-directed learning process in this context is non linear, unplanned, full of chance collisions and serendipitous discoveries and involves a variety of learning resources, many of which may be human; (5) learners do not, as a matter of course, go out to seek learning resources. Resources are around them, or they come into their environment at an opportune time. Friends and relatives are important resources; (6) what is learned may be incomplete, out-of-date or simply wrong. Given the unplanned and unmonitored nature of the process, this must always be a possibility; (7) participation in formally provided classes and courses has only a minimal role in this context.

These propositions seem to follow through to the conclusion that the world view of continuing educators has to be transformed. They have to shift their perception of themselves from centre stage. In reality, in the complete drama of adult learning in the community, continuing educators—in the roles of 'teacher' and 'provider'—are not actually on the stage at all but in the audience. They need now to get up out of their seats and put themselves somewhere backstage (not as directors, or stage-managers, but as stage-hands).

In Percy, Burton and Withnall 1995a we floated the idea that the developments of computer technology and of television and video etc., bringing into the

home endless information supply and the potential for home-based learning innovation, provided continuing educators with a fertile and unique opportunity for reconceptualising their roles, for making connections with the world of 'incidental' self-directed learning and for being more than providers of a minority social and recreational service. We think it possible, with extensive research, theory-building and critical dialogue, for continuing educators to transform the learning resources which adults have to hand in the community. We are not referring in the main to open and distance learning materials as we now know them. These are normally structured, linear and boundaried. Adults also need learning resources which are transient in nature, cheaply produced and can be flexibly used. Continuing educators need to be guided by a mission of maximising choice; of anticipating all of the life situations, circumstances and roles, as well as the interests and objects of curiosity, which will present themselves to adults in the future and to make available in the home or neighbourhood the opportunity to learn about them with the minimum of effort. Learning would be continuous with, if not indistinguishable from, everyday life. How, when or why adult take advantage of these learning resources would be for no-one to decide but themselves.

The implications for the education and training of continuing educators would be radical. The main point of the endeavour would no longer be the preparation of teachers or programme administrators, although such roles would remain as an adjunct concern: it would be the production of a new kind of continuing education facilitator: part futurologist, part researcher, part materials producer, part needs analyst, part technologist, part planner; part evaluator and wholly innovator.

It would be even more necessary for universities to be involved in the production of continuing education professionals in this new scenario. All we have managed to do in the above is to move rapidly from observations based on 'incidental' adult self-directed learning to an assertion that continuing educators should change their primary roles from those of teachers and course providers. A claim that continuing educators should transform their roles to those of being facilitators of home-based learning which has meaning for the ways in which adults are actually conducting their lives in the community is not much more than rhetoric. What is needed is a significant research activity to delineate in considerable detail what those ways are; theoretical clarification to translate that research into a form which makes sense and can be justified for the developmental and innovative experimentation which must follow; and systematic and reflective practice to make the new forms of facilitative provision work. The university is the one institution in our society in which research, theory-building, development and practice are recognised to be essential and inter-connecting facets of the same unending process.

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SECTION III

The Training Dimension

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CANMORE

USING QUALITY CIRCLES IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FOR ADULT EDUCATORS

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Introduction[1]

Professional development for educators and trainers of adults is currently being strongly promoted by government through its drive to establish centralised competency standards for this field of practice. An alternative and complementary tactic is for educators and trainers to establish practices to investigate and maintain quality in their own practice in a way that is appropriate to the field.

This paper explores such an alternative and complementary approach at the University of South Australia in which educators and trainers and their academic educators formed self directed quality circles in which they used reflective and dialogic processes to investigate and enrich their practice as educators and trainers of adults.

While respecting the contribution of university research and knowledge to the development of most professions this project was also interested in recognizing the skills and knowledge of many adult educators as well as the implicit rules and standards of practice appropriate to the culture and diversity of this sector which have developed. It was then interested in exploring appropriate collaborative ways to understand, critique and improve such practice. One approach to understanding and promoting good practice in adult education and training within its enormous diversity was to set up self moderating practices which could be used by educators and trainers of adults in various fields of practice. Such self moderating processes were designed to be in fruitful tension with opposed forces currently at work in this sector in philosophy, structures of provision and forms of quality control.

As the adult and community education sector has come to embrace all forms of education offered to adults in the workplace, in the formal and higher education sector and in the community a diversity in general approaches to the education and training of adults has emerged. Although originally inspired by democratic ideals of inclusive, equitable, lifelong and self directed learning embedded in what is left of the national ethos of liberal humanism, the education and training of adults is now also influenced by economic rationalism on the one hand and competitive individualism and elitism on the other and cannot pretend that its original noble ideals are held universally by all sponsors and practitioners. It is probably truer to say that the adult and community education sector has become another arena for the playing out of a number of dialectics between opposed interests in Australia.

One dialectic is between government centralist control and individual enterprise and professional responsibility. The attempt to establish national standards of competence while giving some credibility to forms of educational practice in this sector is already tending to freeze its essentially grass roots learner-centred responsive-to-specific local-needs character. On the other hand locally controlled educational enterprises can exhibit narrowness and local prejudice. For this dialectic to generate a balanced synthesis requires energy from both poles—centralised government action and individual grass roots initiatives. The setting up of autonomous self regulating quality circles by which educators and trainers of adults attempt to take direct responsibility to critique and improve local educational practice was an initiative to energise and strengthen the grass roots end of these exchanges .

A second dialectic is between the quest for excellence and the need to increase basic competence. The quest for excellence can degenerate into competitive elitism leading to the reward and advancement of the few and the exclusion of the many. The need to increase basic competence for all in many sectors of

human activity may have a tendency to erode incentive and foster minimalist attitudes satisfied with low achievement. Again, the setting up of autonomous self regulating quality circles was an initiative to energise the sector to take responsibility for keeping the poles of this second dialectic in creative tension and to safeguard the legitimate interests of all adult learners.

If the first dialectic between the sector's autonomy and the government's intervention is between interests internal and external to the sector, the second dialectic between ideals of practice—excellence for some versus competence for all —tends to be more internal to groups and even individuals within the sector. While it is often easier to see and cater for external forces, it has been important to acknowledge and deal with these forces from within.

The challenges involved in meeting and managing the almost permanently opposed forces in these two dialectics was a strong rationale for the establishment of the reflective quality circles discussed here, through which practitioners were invited to meet, reflect on their practice and the forces shaping it and take action to resolve realised issues and contradictions.

When continuing professional development of adult educators which had once been offered by small courses, TAFE programs and universities was increasingly regulated and preferment linked to university awards, adult and community educators became required to attend universities. Again there were benefits and tensions.

Adult Educators in Higher Education

Many educators and trainers of adults in Australia (and I suspect similar circumstances apply in other countries) entered their educator role by accident and in an informal way. They may have had a trade or profession or they had developed a certain expertise in their workplace or community organisation which they end up teaching others. They engaged in teaching their peers with what resources and skills they had together with the expertise available to them in their site of teaching. Many then have found that to keep their job and progress in their career as an educator and trainer of adults, they were required to get a degree or diploma in adult education and training. When they enrolled at the university they met another kind of adult educator.

The significant feature of this pattern of engagement in professional training is that participants like those described above, already had experience and had developed preferred approaches backed up by a more or less elaborated theories relating to them. The classroom at the university or TAFE college becomes a significant arena in which such adult-educators-turned-students already equipped with their own professional skills, ideas and prejudices met university academic educators with their array of skills, ideas and prejudices backed up with the authority to assess and the licence to grant qualifications.

This could and did lead to some tension particularly if those seeking a professional qualification were irritated that they are required to study for a degree. An angry stance does not tend to generate a positive orientation towards accepting or even considering the changes that studying at this level is likely to involve. The word 'studying' is used here to refer to learning in a university course directed and assessed by academics. As such it is very different from the kind of self-directed, needs- based, intuitive on the job learning characteristic of people who learn as they go.

In addition there was often considerable difference in expectations. The academic educator with often a more eclectic and theoretical stance, concerned to provide a range of useful learning experiences may again be confronted by adult-educators-turned-students with preferred teaching/learning approaches and different expectations of how learning is best generated in the classroom.

For their part, academics, many of whom were once adult educators in similar situations to those of the current students, are challenged to recognize and respect the student educators' prior knowledge. At the same time to be true to their own vocation, they, the academics, need to advance additional ideas and to engage in critical dialogue with the student educators without trivialising, disregarding or discrediting their experience and leaning.

Such a respectful listening and dialogic stance is particularly difficult to implement in much traditional university activity where students are lectured to in large numbers and where much of the teaching/learning process is concerned with getting and memorising what they discover counts for valuable university knowledge with a view to examination. I wanted to create a process of exploration which could be more or less 'owned' by students and academics alike in which students and academics could pool and critique their knowledge, insights and skills.

At this time I had set up a professional peer support program for Adult educators throughout Australia called adult education quality circles. (cf. Willis 1993). I invited a group of adult educator students to form one of the groups within this project. In this case I planned to use the quality circles' egalitarian and dialogic reflective processes to validate the adult educator students' prior learning as well as academic knowledge and to create some distance from the regulatory power of the university. In the course of the experience many modifications were made which have helped to shape this paper and which will be explored after looking at the nature of and theory behind the quality circle project..

Quality Circles for Adult Educator Students

Quality circles in this context aimed to become *autonomous reflective professional self improvement groups*. In contrast to earlier more management lead ideas of quality which directed attention almost exclusively to the improvement of a product, the 'quality' pursued here includes the quality of the processes involved as well. They thus radically modified the traditional idea of 'quality circles' (cfr. Oackland: p. 647), which had once been promoted as a largely management controlled process within industry to improve productivity according to management's yardstick. A key tool in this revamped idea of quality was the use of reflection and reflective practice.

Reflection[2]

In reflection people turn their mind to themselves and their activities, feelings, thoughts and judgments and become attentive to them and the influences which shape them.

Ways of Being Reflective

Boud and Walker who like older writers including Dewey, had a strong cognitivist emphasis in their earlier writings (1985). Through their later work on experiential learning, they became aware of non-cognitive influences on knowing, and began to build into reflection a phase for attending to feelings generated in or though experience (1992).

A second level of reflection, which can be called *experiential reflection* is derived particularly from the work of Boud,. Keogh and Walker (1985) who describe a process (1985: p 27) by which learners can get in touch with the all the dimensions of their experiences in order to understand what happened to them at the time more clearly and to assess and change ideas and behaviours as a result. Boud (1985: 21) noted in his study on learning from experience, that people bring to their learning experiences all the baggage of their previous life. The response of the learner to new experience is determined significantly by past experiences which have contributed to the ways in the which the learner perceives the world

It also was pointed out that reflection meant different things depending on the kinds of interests being pursued. At a first level reflection can refer to a kind of 'efficiency audit' by which a person will reflect on the appropriateness and efficiency of the choice of particular means to achieve a set end. An educator and trainer of adults may query whether the film chosen to illustrate the point being explored or the overhead transparencies used or the group activity scheduled were the best means under the circumstances to achieve the instructional objectives. This kind of reflection which following van Manen (1970) can be said to be located at the technical level, can be called *instrumental reflection.*

Experiential reflection can also lead to *interpretative reflection* when having revisited some important experience, the learners seek to make meaning out of occurrences (cfr. Kemmis 1985: p. 151) in the light of their assumptions about themselves and the world. But then Kemmis (1985: p. 143) following Habermas,

also saw there was another kind of reflection which Habermas had called critical which could also be a 'political act which either hastens of defers the realization of a more rational, just and fulfilling society'(cfr. Habermas, 1974; Carr and Kemmis 1983; Kemmis 1985) Learners engaging in this form of critical reflection, seek to understand the ways in which inequitable social relationships shape their consciousness: (their assumptions about themselves and the world) and seek to develop alternative ways of acting through which they work to discern and free themselves from the dominance of false consciousness.

Reflective Practice in Adult Education and Training

Thus in the context of adult educational practice, reflection needs particularly to be linked to the action of educators and trainers of adults when they are actually engaged in facilitating adult learning as teachers, group leaders, trainers, instructors, facilitators etc. Ross (1989: p. 30) says that

> "the reflective (practitioner) engages in thoughtful reconsideration of all that happens (in practice) with an eye towards improvement"

Personal experiences as such were not the first object of the reflection being explored here (although it was discovered that personal reactions and feelings needed to be integrated into the whole reflective agenda since they often had enormous influence on the educators' practice), it was the experiences of people *as educators* where they reflected on their educational action to uncover their approaches to facilitating learning. This involved looking back at what they did rather then what they said they did in search of their educational *theory in use* rather than their *espoused theory.* (Argyris and Schon 1974)

This kind of reflection on their educational practice is aimed at helping teachers of adults become aware of the forms of personal and professional practice they are engaged in. This is the essential interpretative nature of this level of reflection in that it seeks to uncover the meanings and values that people are in fact attaching to their actions. Kemmis' (1985) critical stance argues further that such meanings embedded in educational practice which often seem to be hidden, may also be distorted and influenced by a range of interests constructed from inequitable social forces like racism, sexism, agism and the like which become enshrined in culture through language and relatively permanent inequitable distribution of status and opportunity. The action to improve educational practice consequent on realised meanings mentioned above may then be action to overcome unjust or prejudicial action.

Individual and Group Reflective Processes

Many practitioners implement reflection by keeping a journal (cf. Holly 1984) in which they note and critique significant events in their professional activity. Some write detailed descriptions of these incidents in their journals, noting what happened, the interested players, their own reactions and feelings and attempts to make sense out of the events described. Others are happy to work from their remembered recollections.

Boud (1985), Kemmis, (1985), Sparks-Langer (1991), Olsen (1992) propose that reflective practice can be enhanced by regular supportive meetings of like minded people who prompt each other to understand and critique their reactions to critical events that they recounted in their professional activity. When they meet in their reflective groups, educators who have kept reflective journals are able to explore the incidents they noted as well as their own interpretative reactions to discuss and critique their experiences. A sequence of processes has been developed to maximise this group reflection which are discussed below. Prior to this it is important to become aware of the aims and agendas of participants and how these can shape the reflective activities of the quality circle group.

Reflective Agendas

The quality circles seemed to have had three agendas. The first is the *personal or vocational* agenda. It aims to give the practitioner students the opportunity to reflect on how they personally feel about being an adult educator as the reality of just what it entails is made apparent through the other reflective processes just described. Through this process participants have the opportunity to explore whether adult education is

what they want to do with their lives and if so what will be required of them.

The second is a *phenomenological* interest. This agenda is to picture adult education practice as a lived experience. This process was to assist practitioners to become more deeply aware of the actual nature of their adult education practice and to know it, to 'have a handle' on it. This agenda would help practitioners ground their ideas and readings in their lived world and give them a solid foundation to reflect on.

The third is the *practical* agenda. It was to look at adult education practice as a deliberate planned activity made according to implicit or explicit theories and carried out again with implicit or explicit theories of implementation. This approach would help practitioner students identify their espoused theories of practice and then look at how they attempted to apply these in practice sometimes in fact working from a quite different theory than the one nominated as being significant. They could then critique their theories in use and work to generate some congruence between them. This practicality, following Habermas (1972) is explored according to three sets of human interests: technical, communicative or critical.

The *technical* agenda is one with which many practitioners are familiar. This gives the participants the opportunity and encouragement to review the methods and techniques they adopted to meet specific technical objectives. Such objectives could range from to communicate so as to be heard and seen easily, to demonstrate a skill effectively, to list a number of items of information etc. and link the presentation to assessment etc. The *communicative* agenda is linked to questions of human communication and connectedness in society. It gives the practitioner the opportunity to focus on and critique the values and communicative relationships generated in and around their adult educational practice. The *critical* agenda provides the opportunity for practitioners (who were becoming aware of their theories in practice and their relation to the espoused theories) to explore the interests which may have been hidden in the assumptions underlying their theories such as those embedded in racism (usually favouring anglos over other races), sexism (usually favouring men over women), and other forms of unconscious discrimination in which groups of people are favoured or rejected by being placed in a discriminatory category.

Planned Outcomes

The proposal suggested that there would be seven general outcomes to be expected from the project which could contribute to improving quality in adult education practice:

1. Increased **dialogue** between academic adult educators and student adult educators
2. Increased **phenomenological awareness** of the lived experience of adult education practice.
4. Increased **ability** to identify and address issues of practice
5. Deeper awareness of and commitment to **the range and depth of competence** required in their own area of work
6. Increased **awareness of issues** in adult and community education practice
7. Increased **networking** between educators and trainers of adults in different areas of work
8. Sharing of **experience of quality circles** their usefulness and ways to establish and benefit from them

The processes of reflection was to be the main process of these quality circles. It has come to have many meanings and applications.

The Project in Action

The reflective quality circles were thus groups of educators and trainers of adults enrolled in university studies who sought to understand and improve their practice by meeting regularly with their academic mentor in small groups in which they reflected on their educational work and the competencies required for good performance and addressed issues and contradictions experienced in their practice.

The various stages of reflection pursued in the quality circles under consideration here follows with considerable modifications, the general scripts suggested by Smyth (1989: p. 486) He listed four general processes which participants were guided to follow in sequence moving from 'describing' to

'informing' to 'confronting' to 'reconstructing'. In the quality circle project, an additional orientation phase was been established in order to assist participants name and explore their espoused theories, their origins and the assumptions underpinning them as well as their own attitudes and feelings about the proposed processes and about their life as teachers and trainers of adults. There is thus specific provision for personal reflection in this orientation phase. This is then followed by a modified and elaborated version of Smyth's four phases of reflection. The first phase called 'description' in Smyth's text is modified by having a strongly phenomenological focus on portraying the experience of adult education practice as experienced by each participant in the quality circle. The three subsequent phases linked to practical reflection are more or less as Smyth describes

> The planned sequences refer to the scripted actions of the members of the quality circles according to a planned agenda. It was obviously possible for individual participants entering or quitting various phases in the process that elements of the previous phase continued to bubble along in their psyche influencing and being influenced by subsequent processes. Thus a participant realising just what the lived experience of adult education practice meant in a particular incident might well find this realisation modifying his or her espoused theory of practice as well as his or her theories in action. Changes in planned approaches to adult education practice might then also have a (usually liberating) effect on a person's subjective feelings about themselves as professionals.

Implementing the Reflective Process : Preliminary Orientation

Participants are invited to spent time examining their personal interests firstly in being educators of adults and secondly in choosing to enrol in a university course for their professional development and comparing their interests with the goals of the quality circles. In this phase, which appeared important in the light of the different expectations and constructions of the participants, the reflective agenda was outlined covering five major processes.

1. Personal exploration of feelings in relation to the vocation and practice of adult education
2. Identification of their own espoused theories of adult education;
3. Developing a sense of phenomenological re search looking for the thing itself; the lived experience of adult education;
4. Investigation of adult education episodes as artifacts of planned practice looking for theories in use and comparing them with their espoused theories
5. Critical exploration of the roots of disparity and incongruence and attempt to close the gap

Participants were then offered facilitative processes through which they could examine their personal interests in joining the quality circle and compare them with the planned agenda and be invited to focus on and consider the planned personal, phenomenological and practical reflections. Personal reflection involved adult educators identifying their feelings and reactions in general and then during the significant events narrated in the processes of the quality circle meetings, owning them and interpreting them in the light of their own aspirations and sense of self. Following the agreements constructed and agreed to in this orientation phase, participants were under no obligation to share their feelings although many did. Some found being able to 'sound off' in a safe environment gave them a chance to name their feelings and distinguish themselves from them. It was considered a useful process for some of the members sense of vocation. Although the orientation phase has space specifically for personal reflection, personal reflection could and often did accompany every part of the process.

There is another level as well. The 'improvement agenda' of the quality circle processes themselves often moved the agenda away from the safe ground of objective consideration to the personal and particular and could be highly exposing and confrontative. There were occasions in the group I was working with, where a participant said that doing adult education was stressful enough but going over and over it in a group; and looking to expose the various members agenda was too personal and intrusive. In the light of the contract to protect and honour participant's privacy and

sense of autonomy, it was important to return to the orientation agreements again and again and avoid turning the quality circles into a therapy circle or a witch hunt.

Practical Phases

Describing answers the question: What do I do when I practice adult education? It involves providing a grounded close description of one or more critical incidents in different practitioners educational activity in which they look for verisimilitude, typicality and significance. Verisimilitude refers to the concern to portray the significant event as a lived experience. It answers the phenomenological question "what was it like for you?" This initial attempt to convey the immediacy and lived reality of the event has been explored in considerable depth through a study of phenomenological approaches to enquiry (cf. Willis 1995 in press). Typicality refers to the extent to which the incident is characteristic of the practitioner's approach. Significance refers to the character of the event chosen to illuminate dimensions of the person's practice. It often is chosen because there is a problematic, possibly contradictory element which has attracted the practitioner's interest.

In this first practical reflective activity of the quality circles, members are encouraged to go over an incident, revisit it from many angles, attend to feelings, describe it in the third person as if carried out by another. An additional strategy suggested by participants at the quality circle training weekend was, as it were, to take a close up film of two minutes from a key moment in the event being described; provide a kind of drama script report or actually acting out the moments being explored. These and other strategies were designed to get a rich picture of an event felt to be significant and somehow problematic.[3]

The *informing* process which follows is the interpretative question—the meanings the event has for the actor. Other members of the group are invited to assist the reflector to generalise—to create his or her *theory of practice*. It answers the question 'What theories are expressed in my practices' Smyth suggests this kind of reflection can be facilitated by completing the statement: "It looks as if....." This process is to identify components of the actors' theories in use (rather than espoused theories) as was pointed out above. Other prompts could be: "What you're doing seems to be....." "If you do that kind of thing during a teaching/learning session, then it looks like you really think educational action is about....."

It is at this point that the practitioners may suspect that what made the incident significant was some anomaly between their espoused theory and their theory in practice. Whereas such disparities or contradictions are often passed over as just another of those contradictions of adult professional life, here they are foregrounded, addressed and questioned. This is confrontation, the next phase.

Confonting asks the questions: How does this square with my espoused theory which I believe inspires and informs my practice. How did I come to be this way? What are the causes of my theory in practice, my values, assumptions, beliefs? Where do these come from? Whose interests are being served? All these questions are to assist the reflective practitioner to look more deeply to question their established and now problematic world.

The final phase which may or may not arise is the *reconstructing* phrase. It puts the question: How might I change? What would I do differently? What do I consider to be important pedagogically? What do I have to work on to effect these changes? (Smyth ibid: p 486). These are the questions leading to praxis—to implementing change, reflecting on what happened when different activities were attempted, critiquing the results and if necessary trying something else.

The four steps of practical reflection just outlined were implemented in the university quality circle as they looked to understand and take appropriate action at critical incidents in their practice.

Conclusions

The academic group I worked with has yet to complete its sequence. Early meetings were confused by the agendas of the participants some of whom were attempting to complete a part time degree and were seeking a subject with little reading and minimal

assessment. One of the immediate outcomes (besides considerable tension concerning the precise requirements of the course and its assessment) was the participants becoming much more attuned to and aware of the nature of their practice.
The initial descriptive phase generated narratives from the academic and student participants which contained:

1. accounts of participant's personal histories as adult educators and their espoused theories of practice.
2. 'thick descriptions' of significant adult education events as 'lived experiences'
3. accounts of the adult educators subjective reactive states while engaged in significant adult education events

From its beginning, the project had attempted to bring together professional self appraisal, phenomenological inquiry and critical reflective practice in a symbiotic relationship. The professional self appraisal agenda helped participants interrogate their own interest in and commitment to the profession. The phenomenological stance slowed the process down and assisted practitioners attend upon their lived experience as educators and trainers of adults. The critical stance alerted practitioners to a possible disparity between what they say they are going to do and what they eventually do and to the possible structural foundations of such disparity in inequitable social relationships embedded and often passed over in common culture.

The project proved something of a two edged sword for those who chose the project as a non-reading option. Some said they had benefited enormously. Others found it narcissistic and intrusive. The final outcome will not be known for some months. It is a rich agenda found useful—even inspiring—for several adult education practitioners entering university and for their academic mentors.

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[1]This paper builds on earlier work (cf. Willis 1993) linked to a quality circle project.

[2]I am indebded to Judith Condon for many discussions on these ideas.

[3]This refinement came from Bob Dick (the two minute in-depth exploration) and Liz Norris (the suggestion of actually acting out the event) during a quality circle training workshop.

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TRAINING PROFESSIONALS TO MOONLIGHT AS EDUCATORS OF ADULTS: PROBLEMS OF TRAINING EDUCATORS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: THE CASE OF GUYANA

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"What is your main reason for teaching part-time"?

(a)"to supplement my income"
(b)"to make some money"
(c)"need extra cash"

Simply stated, educators of adults want to make more money! And a short way to achieve this is to **moonlight** teaching adults! (Isn't it true that Michael Newman several years ago described adult education as "The Poor Cousin" in the title of his book?) Well, from what I have just said, you now know that adult education is no longer poor. We are working in a place where there is **money.** Would you believe it? Working in adult education for the money? But that's the reality for some people!

I want to suggest that for developing countries like my own, this is one of the most significant problems in the delivery of adult education services. The issue is how to maintain and enhance the role, status and quality of the part-time teaching force within an enterprise that has a dominant part-time orientation but wants full-time legitimacy. The stark reality is that if an adult education centre has no part-time staff, it has no program; for part-time tutors constitute the majority of adult education workers. (Boshier 1985, Jarvis, 1985)

Let me contextualize the problem. For over 10 years I worked in the Institute of Adult and Continuing Education (IACE), Univeristy of Guyana, organizing and managing adult and continuing education programs and conducting workshops and seminars for part-time tutors. In 1989/90 I conducted a survey of these tutors and one of the findings of that research was that **financial** reasons along with **desire to share knowledge** were the most important reasons for teaching part-time.

Now if tutors articulate the reason why they teach part-time is because they want to make money, what do administrators say? How should Directors respond? Do they say "Bye, thank you. You are too greedy! You are to capitalistic! We will look for tutors who put **mission** before **money** and **people** before **profits**"! Do they try to change the thinking of part-time staffers or do they say "Let's work together so that the student could benefit."

It occurs to me that adult education centers are in a particularly vulnerable position so far as the recruitment of part-time staff is concerned. Because of the very nature of the activities undertaken by centers, moonlighting is rewarded and even fostered. In fact, as the Institute organizes its annual staff conference and training program for tutors, essentially, what we are doing, constitutes training for Moonlighting or training for a second or third job. Stinson (1990) has reported that this moonlighting phenomenon increased significantly in the 1980's.

Several points are worth noting at this juncture. First, these part-time educators are mostly professionals—graduates from the University of Guyana and foreign universities who work at their regular 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. day job. Their commitment is to their primary (day) job but they teach with the Institute between twice and four times per week in the evenings.

Secondly, deteriorating economic conditions have been an intractable problem in Guyana (as well as other developing countries) for many years due to the increased cost of oil imports, recession in the economies of the West, and a State command socialist economy. The increasing costs of imported goods and services, the refusal of western donor nations to

give loans to Guyana because of its socialist policies, the low prices for primary commodities a sluggish domestic economy and several other factors have contributed to significantly lower foreign currency reserves from which imports are bought.

This situation in turn has resulted in the drastic curtailment of basic consumer goods and the escalation of prices for those commodities which become available. This trend continued even as Guyana and these countries tried to extricate themselves through Structural Adjustment Policies initiated at the behest of World financial institutions such as The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The effect of these policies was the continued escalation of prices to such an extent that the middle class, with its concentration of professionals, began to experience severe impoverishment. Many of them retreated to the informal economy to drive taxis and to "trade" and to seek as many new sources of income as they could possibly locate. For other professionals, migration to the Caribbean and North America was their response, thereby contributing to "the brain drain".

This context is important for it allows me to justify the claim I make as the basis for this paper: we are training professionals to moonlight as educators of adults. They are our best tutors and teachers. But they are professionals in **other** fields such as **education** (elementary, secondary and higher); and in the **public service** (government workers). It may be argued that these professionals **need the money** because of the frequent devaluation of the Guyana currency which has lost much of its purchasing power over these years. (Currently $1 US = $145 Guyana). Coupled with this is the fact that the salaries of teachers and government workers are usually fixed and not indexed to inflation. Salaries in Guyana have not kept up with inflation and are woefully low in comparison to those in the neighboring Caribbean region. (See UG Development Plan).

I may suggest that Extra Mural Centers and Adult and Continuing Education Departments engage in this kind of activity continuously; indeed perennially. Since so much of the class program of the adult education enterprise is conducted in the evening, full-time staff is in the minority, while part-time staff, trained in their own disciplines, constitute the majority of staff.

What then is the purpose of holding part-time staff training conferences annually? Does it serve the interest of IACE to produce moonlighters who are honest and dedicated to their classes? Does it serve the interests of these professionals to be trained as moonlighters in order to make money and to pay their bills? (which is good and valuable). What other function could training serve? If the structural conditions remain, and tutors cannot be absorbed full-time, how could the training serve the legitimate interests of the students?

What then is the role of training? It seems to me that there is a radical need to rethink how professionals are trained to perform their roles of teaching and working with adults. This rethinking has to include a new reconceptualization of the curriculum of training as well as the curriculum of our various courses. Should training focus on skills? Should training seminars be designed to satisfy technological interest in "how to" of adult education—how to work with adults; how to teach adults: how to conduct group discussions. Much of contemporary adult education consists of this technological rationality with its emphasis on measurement, precision, objectives and efficiency. (Cunningham, 1992; Hart, 1991). But this will only reinforce the existing social and cultural relations and help to keep teachers moonlighting in a oblivious state of cultural stupor.

In Aronowitz and Giroux's (1993) terms, it seems that there is need to develop "transformative intellectuals who must be fully aware of their active role in mediating between the dominant culture and everyday life" (p. 155). Our professionals need to develop a deeper consciousness of their own roles in relation to the structure that oppresses them and make them captives of the economic system. Such persons need to understand cultural politics and the way how the learning environment is structured by prevailing distribution of power in society.

It seems therefore that the conventional training will not suffice since it only serves to reproduce professionals who become inebriated with the elixir of moonlighting. We need to move beyond this to creating empowering communities of professionals who will understand the larger context in which they work and their own roles in providing an empowering climate in the classroom. In other words, training educators to reproduce the existing social order

seems to further economic dependency and foster the kind of economic imbalance in which professionals are inextricably bound as part of the consuming middle class.

Let me address the training the more directly. The training of part-time educators of adults is not unproblematic. We are well aware that many who work part-time in adult education have had no training in adult education. In my own research, 77% indicated this. Also, many educators do not feel that they need any training in adult education. Again, in my research, 35% shared this view. If we add the fact that half of my respondents did not respond to the item, then it becomes clear that the majority of part-time staff were not enthused about training.

I feel that this brings us back to the moonlighting phenomenon. The nonresponses and the strong perceptions as regards the nonnecessity for training in adult education might indicate an attitude on the part of professionals who have full-time jobs in other fields, that teaching adults in evening programs is not a full-time responsibility. As a consequence, these persons might well feel that there should be no commitment to training because the most important element of this job is **the money**.

We therefore have to accept moonlighting as a given situation and endeavor to utilize the opportunity of the presence of these tutors to work **with them**, in order to help them to perceive a more dynamic role for themselves.

How do we accomplish this? It seems to me that for any training program for part-time educators to be successful, the Institute may need to address certain critical questions. Further, it does not appear to me that we should proceed with further training unless we could clarify what we really want to do.

Some **critical questions** are:

1. Who should be trained? Must professionals be trained? What is their role in the Institute?
2. What should they be trained for?
3. Who are these tutors who teach our classes? What does their race, class, gender, ethnicity reveal to us?
4. Why are they teaching these courses and not others? What programs should the Institute organize?
5. Who are our students? Who has or does not have access to our courses? Are we really serving disadvantaged groups or the privileged?
6. What is our mission in regards to our part—the University?

Should we focus on communities or do we perform a credentialling function or both?

Let me address these issues.

One of the key issues is whether part-time staff who are professionals, need to be trained. Should time and effort be expended in this direction when they don't think that they need any training? **Must** they be trained? Do we need to place scarce resources in this area if there will only be a functional relationship between tutors and classes? While determining whether they should be trained, we may consider their roles in the Institute. Tutors receive a monetary reward for their services. But beyond this there is no role. How could we ensure then, at least a minimum level of commitment above the fulfillment of the teaching and teaching-related functions? I may suggest that we invite them to be more involved in the planning process and in events within the Institute; keeping them informed of developments, organizing groups or teams of tutors to be involved in program development and evaluation.

Secondly, another important issue is the kind of training that would be required. I feel that this is one of the most critical issues that has to be confronted. Basically, what are we training for? Should we provide training in areas such as teaching skills; adult psychology; consciousness raising and empowerment; critical social issues in the society? The answer to such question will undoubtedly influence the curriculum.

A third area to be addressed must focus on who really are our tutors. What's their race, class, gender, ethnicity? What impact are these factors having on our programs? In my research, about 80% of tutors were Afro-Guyanese; females constituted 40% and about 80% of respondents had a tertiary level education. We may we ask "in a society where East Indians constitute about 53% of the population, why should they be only 20% of tutor population?" Of course, this reflects partly the contested nature of ethnic relations in the society. Might we need other tutors?

Another fruitful line of enquiry should focus on the courses that are taught. Why are we teaching these courses? What assumptions are we making? What are we taking for granted?

To some critics, the courses are not needed. To others, the courses are leisure time pursuits or opportunities for working class kids to earn accreditation to become middle class bureaucratic functionaries. Administrators in the Institute need to be able to justify conducting literacy, academic upgrading, vocational training, supervisory training and Pre University English courses. Do we envision these courses contributing to the democratization of the society or are they just reproductive instruments for the creation of a larger middle class? Are they contributing to community growth or are they fostering rural migration?

Closely tied to the question previously discussed is the mission of the Institute with respect to our parent organization—the University. This might be the **overarching** question since the Institute is the extension arm of the University, which as a collective, does not have a unified view. From my own experience, the mission of the Institute is contested territory with many academics believing that the Institute should not conduct programs in the community while top University leadership is supportive of the Institute. It might be instructive to observe that in the recent development plans outlined by the University, very little focus is given to any community thrust. In fact, the current movement is toward economic self-sufficiency—that the Institute must generate income to cover its operational costs (in line with the effects of World Bank's Structural Adjustment Loan Policy). Consequently, do we serve an elitist credentialling function for urbanites and forget farmers, housewives, unemployed young people and other rural population groups.

A final area which should inform our training philosophy for part-time staff concerns the students. Who are they? Who has access to our courses and who do not? Are we really serving those who should be served? To attend these class programs, the student has to pay a fee. What of those who cannot afford? Are we perpetuating a class system through institutional barriers? Are girls represented? Do marginal groups get access to high status programs or are they relegated to programs which are not deemed to be significant? Do East Indians and Blacks have equal access to courses? Do rural and urban participants have equal access to courses? Are courses held where all participants could have access?

In conclusion, there is a problem of professionals moonlighting as part-time educators of adults. They do not attach any significance to their not being trained in relation to this job. It seems to be that since these tutors constitute one major part of the Institute's work, that some effort be made to resolve the difficulty. I have pointed to some general directions in which the investigations may proceed. I think that fundamentally the Institute would need to address the critical questions I have raised if it will have a successful resolution to the problem of moonlighting by part-time educators of adults.

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HUMOUR IN ADULT EDUCATION: IS THERE SOMETHING FUNNY GOING ON?

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Abstract

Humour that connects, rather than separates, has been devalued and often silenced in academe because of Western, Christian, middle-upper class, and male views of the inappropriateness of humour in serious study. In particular, humour has been devalued and silenced because of the male view of superiority of control and the inappropriateness of losing control through using humour to share life experiences.

In an article which evolved from my doctoral study, I discuss how humour was embedded in the sense that two female, first-year university students of Cree and Saulteaux ancestry respectively made of their literacy tasks. The students' meaning was also shared with the researcher using humour. As well, humour was used to jointly construct narratives. The power of the instructor and of the discipline was also identified and questioned through the use of humour. Central to this use of humour is the importance of context, and particularly the centrality of common experiences shared by the participants and the researcher.

Laughter and Humour

Humour is encouraged, allowed, or silenced within specific contexts. Within a context, humour is constructed in terms of culture and gender. In my doctoral work, I found that humour was used by students to make sense of discourse within academe, to share that sense with others, and to comment evaluatively on that sense within academic frameworks of power.

Laughter occurred throughout the conversations I had with Lana and Carol, the two participants in the study. It took me a long time to identify and value that laughter. As I searched the literature for references to laughter, I began to see that humour has often been unrecorded, and perhaps silenced, within and by academic disciplines.

Laughter, and humour in general, has often been disparaged as not worthy of being seriously considered or studied. This devaluation of laughter seems to be based in Western, Christian, middle-upper class, and male views of the world. Norrick (1993) explains that in "our general culture," which I assume means Western, middle-upper class, male, and possibly Christian, laughter is often viewed as frivolous and although pleasant, "seems to get in the way of the serious business that conversation "ought" to attend to" (18). He claims that instead of being external to conversation, laughter and humour are reflective of the nature of conversation itself. Barreca (1991) notes that disparagement of laughter is rooted in a Western, male view of the world.

> However, it should be mentioned that as far back as Plato, people have been warned not to 'abandon themselves to violent laughter.' For Aristotle, the idea of excess was associated with vulgarity and was condemned. There is a long tradition behind the idea of laughter as dangerous, and this condemnation is compounded by the fact that what is dangerous or outrageous for a man is considered even worse in a woman. (47)

This disparagement of laughter is entrenched in academe because Western, male philosophers' views of the world are valued while views of women and non-Western peoples are devalued and silenced. Therefore, the laughter within academe, particularly laughter that connects rather than separates people, has also been silenced.

For the purposes of this article, I am assuming (as does Norrick) that laughter is the predominant way that humour is demonstrated. I am also assuming that laughter means an outward display of humour

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(Barreca). In other words, laughter is a verbal way of showing that humour is happening. I will use the terms laughter and humour synonymously although I realize that laughter is only one vehicle for displaying humour. In this article, I will examine how Lana and Carol, two female first-year students enrolled in a teacher education program for students of First Nations ancestry at a Western Canadian university used humour as a way of making sense of their literacy (reading and writing) tasks. They also used humour as a way of sharing that sense with me, a Non-First Nations researcher who has worked with First Nations students for fifteen years. I will also explain how humour was used as a basis for jointly constructed narratives using our stories as mothers and students as a point of connection. As well, use of humour to question and critique issues of power and authority, specifically the power of the instructor and of the discipline, will be discussed.

Uses of Humour

Lana, Carol and I used humour in three ways during our conversations:

(1) Humour was used by Lana and Carol as a way of making sense of their literacy tasks (specifically their written assignments), of sharing that sense with me (often by making nonserious statements about serious matters), and, at times, of evaluating that sense;

(2) Mutual use of humour was used as connection, as a way to construct joint narratives about our roles, specifically our roles as mothers and students; and,

(3) Humour was used to question and critique issues of power and authority within academe.

Humour and Making Sense of Literacy Tasks

Lana used humour frequently as a way of sharing the sense that she had made, and was making as we talked, of her literacy tasks. Initially, my interpretation was that much of Lana's laughter seemed to be self-deprecating; however, upon closer scrutiny I question this. Her laughter seems to be a type of conclusion, a way of summing up and evaluating an idea that she is sharing. Lana often made serious statements about her literacy tasks in nonserious ways. I will explain this interpretation by outlining an example.

Lana, who is of Cree ancestry, laughs about five minutes into our first conversation. She is struggling to write a thesis statement and when I ask her if she has ever written the thesis statement last (rather than first), she replies: "No, I've never written one. Uh, (laughed) this is my first essay (laughed)." My interpretation of this segment of conversation is that she is informing me that she is a neophyte at writing thesis statements. (She may also be letting me know in a kind way that I had asked a stupid question. How could she have written her thesis statement last if she had never written a thesis statement?) She may also be laughing as a nonserious way to make a serious statement about her lack of familiarity with academic writing. Basso (1979) notes that a striking feature of Western Apache life is that "serious things are always getting said in what appear to be unserious ways" (62). I want to emphasize that I am not implying that people of Western Apache Nations are similar, or the same, as people of other First Nations. However, Basso's statement helped me consider a possible interpretation of Lana's laughter because his idea reflects my experiences working cross-culturally, particularly with students of Cree ancestry. Working with students in the Indian Teacher Education Program has taught me that often the more serious the statement, the more laughter may follow or accompany it.

Carol, a Saulteaux woman, also used humour to make sense of her literacy tasks and to share that sense. Carol realizes that the sense she is required to make of her literacy tasks is deeply rooted in the power structures of the university, specifically the power and authority of the agents of the university: the instructor and the discipline. She critiques the people and structures that are requiring her to make a certain sense, which she states is *not her sense*, of assigned readings and then to reproduce that required sense in her written papers.

Carol used trial and error to gain that sense, a sense which I labelled as the dominant meaning according to the discipline. Her explanations of that trial and error process are punctuated with laughter. Carol was often unsure of what was expected in the

assignments. The example which follows shows her uncertainty and how she also seems to use laughter as a nonserious way of saying serious things. Carol had written a compare and contrast essay which examined similarities and differences between two short stories for her introductory English class. She had received a poor mark on the essay and when she went to ask the instructor about her paper, he explained to her what he wanted. She elaborates:

> Carol: And then, I don't really know what he wanted. The way I explained it to him was that I was doing one similarity for both of them and then do a difference, and then do a similarity and do a difference. He said not that way you can't. It is impossible to do it that way he said. And I did it. But I think he wanted it like, I still don't understand what he wanted actually (laughed) because he told me why don't you discuss all the similarities of those two characters and then do the differences.... He also told me to elaborate on a story without retelling it. And I thought, how can you do that? I had difficulty with that anyway. And then this one [the next assignment] I worked on it a lot longer.
>
> Lorraine: Uh-huh
>
> Carol: And if I don't get a better mark, I'm going to go up there and beat him up. (laughed)

Carol seems to be saying more in this passage than just that she was, and is, unsure of the expectations for an assignment. She also appears to recognize the imbalance of power between students and instructors and is asserting personal control. Carol did not actually "go there and beat him [the English instructor] up;" instead she met with him and talked about her essay. Barreca notes that laughter is used to illustrate personal control and is often directed at authorities. Carol seems to be directing her laughter at the power of the mark and at the power of the instructor and the discipline to determine acceptable discourse.

Humour, Connection, and Jointly Constructed Narratives

Lana and I share mutual laughter during our conversations. When mutual laughter occurred, the topic is rooted in our common experiences as women, specifically as mothers. In the following passage, Lana is talking about writing late at night after her family is asleep.

> Lana: Usually I write after hours when every one has gone to bed. That's the only quiet time I have when everyone has gone to sleep.
>
> Lorraine: (laughed)
>
> Lana: Even my husband.
>
> Lorraine: Mothers don't need sleep, right?
>
> Lana: (laughed)
>
> Lorraine: (laughed) Especially mothers who are students, as you and I know.

My initiation of laughter in this section of text can be interpreted as an invitation to Lana to share in mutual construction of a narrative about the difficulties of balancing our roles as mothers and students.

As I reread the transcripts, I realized that even more so than Lana and I, Carol and I laughed about our experiences as women and particularly as mothers. This laughter accompanied, and further fostered, jointly-constructed narratives. These jointly-constructed narratives, in turn, further developed rapport and helped to ensure the continuation of the research process.

The main way that Carol and I engaged in jointly constructing narratives was through telling each other stories about our children. During the first conversation, Carol was telling me about her children, specifically one daughter who is "pokey."

> Carol: She's my little slowpoke. She's so pokey. I always think about that commercial, you can't rush a turtle (laughed) whenever I think about her. (laughed)
>
> Lorraine: (laughed)

I also have a "pokey" child, and so I then shared a story with Carol.

> Lorraine: My son is a dreamer sort of.

Carol: Yeah

Lorraine: He is a thinker you know
Carol: (laughed)

Lorraine: I mean you can either look at it as thinking or dreaming but for example this morning, my daughter and I were dressed and ready to go and he is sitting upstairs. What he does is he sits in his room and reads when he is supposed to be getting ready for school.

Carol: (laughed)

Carol then elaborated on her story of the "pokey" child.

Carol: She is the last one to do all her preparations for bed. Sometimes it is way past 9:00 and she is still (laughed)

Lorraine: wandering around. Yeah, I know.

Carol: (laughed)

Elsewhere in the conversations, Carol talked about her multiple roles and the hectic pace of her life.

Carol: And you know our whole life was just hectic—trying to fit all of it in. At the time it was just crazy.

Carol also laughed as she explained the difficulty of working at home because of all the interruptions - a result of her multiple roles.

Carol: It was just one thing after another. I just couldn't do any work at home, not very much anyway. The only time I ever got a chance was when everybody was asleep and I would be up late. You know one of those papers I did (laughed) I did in one night. Well, I revised it the next day but it was just a rush job. And that's what happened.

Carol and my use of the words "you know" and "I know" may be rhetorical. But we both *do know*. Carol and I have lived the long nights working after everyone else is asleep or being up most of the night because a child is ill. Once again, separate experiences for Carol and I became common experiences through the sharing of stories and through joint construction of narratives. The laughter we shared seemed to connect us. Also, the shared laughter within the narratives gave us strength to carry on the constant juggling of our multiple roles.

Humour and Issues of Power and Authority

As outlined in an earlier section, Carol used humour to assert personal control and to comment upon the imbalance of power between an instructor and a student. Carol's laughter is tinged with irony and sometimes with anger.

In our first conversation when Carol and I were discussing whether outlining in preparation for writing an essay is necessary for everyone, she replied: "So I'm told (laughed)." (A written outline had been recommended by the English instructor.) She also used laughter tinged with irony when she described the "silliness" of unvoiced expectations of English academic discourse. "But not once did he [the instructor] mention that we had to write in present tense and so he changed all my "was's" to "is's. (laughed)"

Carol also used laughter to question the advice, and I would say the power of the instructor, when she told me what had happened during the writing of the in-class essay. She also uses word play as a form of humour in response to my question.

Carol: I think I did better on that one (laughed) except I didn't get a chance to finish. I could have finished. I just had the conclusion to do.

Lorraine: So what did you do?

Carol: I didn't even do, he said it is a good idea to do an outline. I just thought, well (pause) (laughed) and I just did it [wrote the essay without doing an outline].

Humour, Interpretation and the Literature

There is a paucity of research which explicates cultural and gender differences in the occurrence of laughter. Goldstein (1977) notes that the search for general principles of humour has occurred largely in

the English-speaking world and that there has been very little cross-cultural research which focuses on humour. When research has been conducted, generalizations have been made from Western culture to others. As a result, theories which have been developed have assumed universality and largely ignored cultural differences.

The search for theories has also largely ignored gender differences. It is assumed, falsely I believe, that men and women laugh at the same things. Males often use humour as one up*man*ship. The tendency of a male to compete for laughs seems to fit with the way males have been socialized in many Western cultures, and particularly what Tannen (1990) describes as a male's positioning.

> [A male is positioned] as an individual in a hierarchical social order in which he is either one-up or one-down. In this world, conversations are negotiations in which people try to achieve and maintain the upper hand if they can, and protect themselves from others' attempts to put them down and push them around. (24-25)

Barreca (1991) also explains that women tend to laugh at the powerful rather than the pitiful. "So women look at those in power, or at those institutions we were taught to revere, and laugh" (14).

Chapman and Foot (1976) note that there has existed what they call a "tenderness tabu" (sic) amongst psychological researchers which they describe as a preoccupation in psychology with "decidedly unpleasant emotions at the expense of pleasant emotions such as love, joy and happiness" (2). Traditionally, tenderness has been viewed as being more of a feminine, rather than masculine, characteristic. This tenderness taboo may be partly because of the value which has been placed on objectivity and separation of the researcher and the researched. As well, research in the past has been largely an activity conducted by and with males, and this tenderness taboo may be gender-related. Because of this tenderness taboo, women's laughter may not have been noted even when women were included in the research situation.

Although there is much theory building that needs to be done on cultural and gendered influences in humour, the importance of the context within which humour occurs is recognized by many authors (Barreca, Basso, Goldstein, Norrick, Pinkola Estes). For example, the research situation may be influential in determining whether laughter occurs or not and what function that laughter fulfils. My years of experience working as an instructor and counsellor with the Indian Teacher Education Program means that I was researching within a familiar context. Although I remain a cultural outsider to the First Nations students, the years I have spent working cross-culturally helped me to better understand Lana's and Carol's experiences. I value the use of sharing stories as a way of making meaning of their experiences. I also understand, and live, the importance of family. As well, my immersion in the feminist literature has taught me the importance of grounded theory and of using women's stories as data. I also am beginning to understand that women do construct meaning in gender-related ways and that humour is part of that construction. My presence as a female researcher working cross-culturally with two female participants influenced the meaning that was made of the literacy tasks, and influenced the use of humour in the construction and sharing of that meaning.

Conclusion

The examples of humour outlined in this article may be interpreted as helping to establish rapport and leading to further involvement in the research process. Lana's and Carol's humour also helped summarize the sense that they made of their literacy tasks, and, at times, to comment evaluatively on that sense.

When mutual laughter occurs, we are involved in jointly constructing narratives based on the common experience of motherhood. Although our experiences working late at night on homework after the rest of our families are asleep began as separate experiences, those experiences are recognized as being common when Lana articulates that she writes at night after everyone is asleep and when I respond (facetiously of course) that mothers, especially mothers who are also students, do not need sleep. When Carol and I share humourous stories about our "pokey" children and our multiple roles, there seems to be a shared sense of knowing. Norrick (1993) explains that joint production of a narrative succeeds in making "separate past experiences into a common

experience" (59).

When Carol critiques the power of the academic structure which requires her to make sense of her literacy tasks in a certain way required by the discipline, I understand. I also have had to make sense of literacy tasks in a certain way as structured by the discipline. Together, Carol and I laugh at the power of academe. Barreca (1991) notes that when you laugh with someone, there is a connection: "You've connected. You're standing on the same turf. Laughing together is as close as you can get to a hug without touching" (105).

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GETTING OFF THE PERCH—STRENGTHENING TIES BETWEEN ADULT EDUCATION AND K-12 EDUCATION FACULTY

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Introduction

Adult education as an area of academic study in the United States often slipped into curriculums of schools (colleges) of education during the 1960s and 1970s when dollars were plentiful and "fringe" subjects were tolerated. Now, midway through the 1990s, uncertainty shrouds the study of adult education as K-12 education faculty question its relationship to the central mission of their school—often viewed as the preparation of beginning teachers. Today, with ever shrinking budgets, few can ignore the precarious position of adult education graduate programs.

This uncertainty has generated lively debate at the annual meetings of the North American Commission of Professors of Adult Education (CPAE). Ralph Brockett as chair of the CPAE wrote in 1993, "During the past two Commission of Professors conferences, there has been considerable discussion about the strength of graduate programs within their university settings. Over the last 2-3 years, our field has witnessed some very real concerns ranging from loss of faculty lines or other resources in some programs, threats to eliminate other programs, and the actual closure of at least one major program" (p.1). The CPAE discussions also resulted in two reports (Quigley, 1994; Knox, Sork and Hall, 1993). And though the discussions and reports cover a broad range of issues and strategies, one theme seems most critical to program security: the relationship of adult education graduate programs to their school's central mission.

While some adult education graduate programs are experiencing both reductions in staff and elimination, others are expanding. One such program is located at the University of Wyoming. The number of University of Wyoming College of Education faculty with doctoral degrees specializing in adult education has grown from one in 1984 to five in 1994. Accompanying this growth and contributing to it, the adult education faculty was instrumental in broadening the mission of the College, in reorganizing the administrative structure of the College, and in redesigning the College's approach to the preparation of future beginning K-12 teachers.

This paper briefly examines why the University of Wyoming program is succeeding while some others are not. Discussed are some of intentional steps taken by the adult education faculty at the University of Wyoming to integrate the study of adult education into the goals and agenda of their College of Education.

I acknowledge from the beginning that the University of Wyoming may be somewhat unique. As such, some may argue that what occurred at this university cannot be replicated elsewhere. This may be so. But, fundamentally, what happened at this remote institution on the high and windy plains of the least populated state in the nation may prove to be rather sound practice. In presenting the program, I first provide a brief context for examining adult education graduate study at the University of Wyoming. Then, I outline some of the changes that occurred in this program, describe the current relationship of the program to its College of Education, and identify some of the events that contributed to its current success. I end the discussion with some general observations that, perhaps, may have some relevance for other Schools of Education.

Graduate Study in Adult Education at UW (1960-1980)

As noted above, Wyoming is the least populated state in the United States. It has a current population of under 500,000 people. Though the state of Wyoming is not largely populated, it is among the largest states in this nation. The largest two communities

are Cheyenne and Casper, each boasting populations of between 45,000 and 50,000 individuals. Laramie, home of the University of Wyoming (UW), is the third largest city in the state and includes roughly 26,000 residents. The entire state of Wyoming has been referred to as a medium size U.S. city with very long streets (i.e., highways connecting communities). Distance between communities is often well over a hundred miles; for example, the distance between Laramie and Yellowstone National Park is nearly four hundred miles.

In this largely rural state, there is only one university. Nestled between two mountain ranges and situated in the Laramie valley, UW serves as both the state's liberal arts and land-grant institution. Located in the South-East corner of the state, UW began operation in 1887; from its beginning a strong commitment to outreach efforts was expected. Additional higher education opportunities emerged following World War II in the form of two year community colleges; today seven community colleges serve most sections of the state.

The above brief description of the state and its higher education institutions helps explain the position of university study in adult education in Wyoming. Formal study in adult education began at UW in the mid 1950s in response to the growth of the community colleges. Initial supervision of the adult education program was assigned to the University's general outreach program. (UW has two outreach programs—one deals primarily with agricultural extension and the other is responsible for both general credit and non-credit programs.)

The first graduate courses in adult education at UW centered around instructional improvement at the community college level. Courses included a general discussion of college teaching; the structure, purpose, and problems associated with the community college; media; group dynamics; and change theory. By the 1960s, the formal study of adult education was shifted to the College of Education and a general survey of adult education was added to the curriculum. Many of the first professors assigned to teach graduate courses in adult education were either involved in instructional design (emphasis on media) or with the outreach efforts of the University. During the late 1960s and 1970s (a period nurtured by a strong state economy), a dynamic department emerged—one that combined adult education, instructional technology and libraries. Full-time faculty such as Glenn Jensen (a past executive director of the national adult education association) Hilton Powers, Jack Alford and a cadre of part-time faculty who supervised UW's general outreach program combined to direct some twenty to thirty graduate students. It was at this time that community education and adult basic education surfaced as growing areas of state-wide and academic interest.

But, by the 1980s this academic program was feeling the strain of retirements, new university expectations, and a sluggish economy. Up until the 1980s, many College of Education faculty at UW directed their energies toward two areas: teaching and serving the state. Research activities, if present, were very applied and very specific to an identified need or concern in the state. But, due to changes in the university central administration and the state economy, the 1980s ushered in new expectations for UW faculty.

In the hope of attracting more grant monies to help support the general operation of UW, all faculty were required to actively engage in research projects. In addition. The six colleges of the University were also encouraged to reduce the number of departments and economize. These changes combined with some key retirements in the areas of adult education and instructional technology had a devastating effect on graduate study in adult education. The department that housed the adult education emphasis was eliminated. Graduate study in adult education was assigned to the Department of Educational Administration. Many faculty in the College of Education felt it was only a matter of time before the adult education program itself would be eliminated.

Directional Shifts

After the reconfiguration of the unit, the new Department of Educational Administration and Adult Education was assigned six faculty lines or positions. Four were already filled by faculty in educational administration; another faculty line was to be filled by someone else in educational administration when monies were available, and the sixth line was to be filled by an individual trained in adult education. The existing faculty in this newly restructured

department had created a thriving graduate program and a powerful support base. Their graduate program was the largest in the College of Education—over one hundred students, mostly enrolled during the summer. In addition, this faculty was widely respected both on campus and throughout the state; they were actively engaged in outreach activities, and were well connected to each of the school districts in the state. Each was already tenured and three were full professors.

In the Summer of 1982, after a search process that lingered for nearly a year, a new faculty member was hired to direct the graduate program in adult education. What happened next is open to some speculation. Because the writer was intimately involved in the changes that unfolded, he cannot be relied upon to provide a totally objective rendering of what took place.

As implied above, the new adult education faculty member found himself in a rather untenable position. Though his working environment seemed friendly, the future of the program was very much in doubt. If the existing educational administration faculty felt put-upon to include adult education in their unit, they never showed it. Treatment of their new colleague was always gracious and supportive. There is little doubt the unconditional support of this faculty was one of the key variables that provided a firm foundation for a successful adult education program to emerge. This support helped to minimize the perceived instability of the program

Another key variable was the academic preparation of the new adult education faculty member. Fortunately for this position, he was trained as a generalist. Given he was the only faculty member in the department trained in adult education, he was responsible for all the adult education course work and students. This he took in stride. The first year he taught six different adult education graduate courses—from group dynamics to instructional strategies and from surveying the field of adult education to change theory.

His training at the University of Michigan prepared him for this assignment in a number of ways. He was prepared to work collaboratively with students, to share responsibility for both designing course content and for providing instruction. This minimized some of his course preparation time. He had also been involved in university outreach at Michigan and had a genuine respect for those responsible for these programs; he quickly established connections with outreach providers at UW. In addition, he was fortunate to experience the richness of the field of adult education first-hand at Michigan where he was able to interact with many of the more popular theorists of the day. Some, like Howard McClusky, were faculty at the University of Michigan. Others, like Paulo Freire spent time in residence at Michigan. And still others like Bonaro Overstreet, Malcolm Knowles, Jonathan Kozol, Cyril Houle, Alan Knox, John Ohliger, and Sharon Merriam visited the campus or participated in workshops sponsored by the university. Many of these experiences were photographed and tape recorded and they formed the basis for the variety of courses he taught at Wyoming.

The temperament, sense of purpose, and vigilance of the new faculty member also contributed to the success of the Wyoming program. He was comfortable with institutional and programmatic change and flux. His manner was easy and relaxed; he was respectful, freely sought guidance and assistance, and was visibly appreciative of the kindness of others. He posed no threat to either students or other faculty. In addition, though he operated in the here and now, was sensitive to those around him, and shouldered the many responsibilities of faculty life, most of his energies were directed toward one thing alone: the future security of the program. He was an unabashed opportunist.

He quickly realized that the future stability of the program depended upon establishing strong linkages with other UW programs via sympathetic and supportive faculty and professional staff. He identified individuals who had expertise and skills the adult education graduate program could benefit from, courted them, and proposed partnerships that would be mutually beneficial. A College of Education faculty member, for example, who taught foundations of education courses was invited to collaborate on projects and serve on graduate committees, in return for more enrollments in his courses. Internships were proposed for the outreach programs, as well as adjunct faculty appointments, in return for assistance in course work and committees. Within a year, graduate students in adult education were visibly

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aware of a dozen faculty and professional staff within the College of Education and within the outreach programs who were "connected" to and supportive of their program.

The second and third year were spent expanding this support base to nearly a quarter of the faculty within the College of Education, the full professional staff in the outreach programs, and some departments outside the College of Education—especially sociology, psychology and history. It was during this time that the new junior faculty member was assigned the "laborious" task of representing the Department twice a month at meetings of the University Faculty Senate. This request was viewed by other faculty in the Department as unfortunate; they had each endured the assignment and now it was his turn. After the first few Monday evening meetings of the Senate, the new faculty member realized the appointment was really an opportunity and began establishing connections across campus. The following year he was selected to the executive committee of the Senate. And two years later, though still an untenured assistant professor, he was elected its chair.

During this time he also attempted to integrate some adult education curriculum into the undergraduate teacher preparation program of the College of Education. The College appointed a committee in the mid 1980s to debate and prepare a position paper identifying basic outcomes for all students pursuing the teacher preparation program. This group became known as the "Sixteen Competencies Committee" and the new faculty member attended some of their meetings. After a time, he suggested including an outcome stressing lifelong learning. The suggestion was discussed but the committee declined to include it in their final sixteen outcomes. But, the subject of lifelong learning was not forgotten and four years later it was added to the curriculum of a totally restructured approach to the College's teacher preparation program.

It was during this time that the adult education faculty member was successful in expanding the mission statement of the Department of Educational Administration and Adult Education to include audiences and educational providers beyond the public school sector. A few years later the mission statement of the College of Education was also adjusted to reflect a broader and a more lifelong focus. The current mission statement of the College of Education reads:

> "The mission of the College of Education is to assist the state of Wyoming to deliver on its obligation—provision of quality education **for all learners**. To fulfill this mission, the faculty, staff and students of the College must engage in the scholarly inquiry necessary to advance our understanding of *how people learn*, how to translate what we know about how people learn into pedagogical strategies, and how to structure relationships within **educational organizations** so that **learners** can learn. The College fulfills its institutional obligation to the state and the *schooling system* through discovery, demonstration and dissemination of knowledge." (my emphasis)

Without threatening the security of other departments within the College, the faculty member was successful in including two components of lifelong learning into the new mission statements. First, there was the recognition that learning is lifelong and that the audience of the College included adults as well as children and adolescents. Next, the College proclaimed that it recognized that learning takes place in a variety of institutions and organizations, not just in schools. It was recognized, for example, that libraries were educational organizations.

This was an important step for the future security of the graduate program in adult education. The clientele served by the adult education program were now legitimate. The program had moved from its perch as a fringe discipline in the College and was recognized as a significant contributor to the overall mission of the College of Education.

In 1985 a new faculty member—trained in adult education—was added to the Department of Educational Administration and Adult Education. Initially, his was a split appointment: half time teacher in adult education, half time research assistant to other faculty in the Department. With the addition of the new individual, the adult education program expanded its offerings and began an active off-campus program. Enrollments increased and a strengthened program emerged. Having a comrade to oversee the program, the initial faculty member continued brokering connections across the university; it was during this

time he served as chair of the Faculty Senate.

By the end of the 1980s new happenings in the College (new opportunities) allowed the adult education graduate program to become more firmly embedded into the College. The first was a restructured teacher preparation program that stressed stronger collaboration amongst College faculty. The two adult education faculty members participated in discussions regarding the new undergraduate program and succeeded to get a few themes included—such as practicums in non K-12 school settings and the examination of lifelong learning concepts. In addition, they applauded the move to broaden responsibility for, and involvement in, the new program; they volunteered to assist wherever possible. Up to this time, the adult education faculty had very limited contact with undergraduate students.

The other event that strengthened the position of adult education in the College was the reorganization of the operating structure of the College. Having concluded his involvement with the Faculty Senate, the first adult education faculty member was asked to chair a College Reorganization Committee. With the objective of strengthening collaboration among faculty and building on the momentum provided by proposals related to the restructured teacher preparation program, the Reorganization Committee examined the strengths and weaknesses of the then current five department structure—Educational Administration and Adult Education; Counselor Education; Curriculum and Instruction and Special Education; Educational Foundations and Measurement; and Vocational Education. After months of discussion, options for restructuring the College were given to the general faculty; a vote was taken, and a new structure was approved. But, because the College was involved in a nation-wide search for a new dean, it was the position of the faculty that a recommendation for restructuring would be shared with the new dean and that he or she would not be compelled to act on it. It would be handled as an agenda item for further consideration.

The new dean approved the faculty plan to reorganize the College and, though he had intended to continue debate for a year, decided to accept the new structure and to begin the elaborate university process for formally replacing old structures with new—a process that took nearly a year to complete. The new structure eliminated the five departments. In their place the College formed two divisions: the Division of Leadership and Human Development, and the Division of Lifelong Learning and Instruction. The later division brought together faculty who identified primarily with learning and instruction. The Division of Lifelong Learning and Instruction included faculty from adult education, curriculum and instruction (including early childhood), and vocational education; these areas were viewed as units within the division. One of the adult education faculty members was elected chair of the new division.

During the new dean's first year (the transition year whereby the old organization structure was replaced with the new) no new faculty hirings were approved. So, by the time the new structure was in place a number of new faculty hirings were available. The results of this process firmly established the adult education unit in the College for a number of new positions were approved that linked adult education more forcefully to other units in the Division. To facilitate further collaboration between curriculum and instruction and adult education, an adult literacy position was proposed and approved. And, to bridge the areas of curriculum and instruction, vocational education, instructional technology, and adult education an information access position was proposed and approved. Both of these positions were filled by individuals with doctoral degrees in adult education. In addition, as part of the reorganization of the College, faculty were free to align themselves with the divisional units of their choice. One faculty member was hired three years earlier to coordinate the off-campus program of he Department of Curriculum and Instruction and Special Education. Her doctoral training was also in adult education and she choose to align herself with the new adult education unit; as the adult education program entered the 1990s their faculty had grown from one in 1984 to five.

With the new adult education faculty in place, increased involvement in the undergraduate teacher preparation program began in earnest. The newly hired faculty were fully expected to integrate their expertise both as teacher and subject specialist into the new program. Some were also expected to help draft and guide the new curriculum for the program. The literacy faculty member, for example, came to

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UW with the full understanding that she would become heavily involved with curricular revision for the new program. As a result, lifelong learning outcomes were officially incorporated into the undergraduate curriculum. This helped paved the way for other adult education faculty to contribute to the new program.

In addition, a few of the adult education faculty immediately began collaboration with curriculum and instruction faculty to deliver a pre teacher preparation course: "Introduction to Education and Teaching." (Adult education faculty have now taught sections of this course for the past four years, verifying, for me, that faculty in the College of Education realize their colleagues in adult education have significant expertise and experience to offer undergraduate education students.)

Today, each of the adult education faculty is assigned to a team for delivery of the new program; they are joined by other college instructors and K-12 teachers. The teams, working closely with specific school districts, direct and facilitate the initial experiences of students in the program. Team members broker the school-based field experiences of the students, expose students to the richness of other community educational agencies (such as adult learning centers and local libraries) and cover the curriculum. To address the curriculum, team members draw from their own experience as educators (broadly defined) and familiarize themselves with some of the current literature concerning learning, teaching and schools. Team members are challenged to integrate their own backgrounds and interests into the preparation of future K-12 teachers. Primarily, they are asked to model a critical, informed and inquisitive approach to learning, and to approach instruction with skill and sensitivity.

A few final points should be made regarding the growth of the adult education program. This growth occurred because the adult education faculty believed in stronger collaboration with their colleagues (especially faculty in curriculum and instruction and vocational education) and were committed to becoming more actively involved in the undergraduate teacher preparation program. Further, their involvement in undergraduate education has not had a detrimental effect on their graduate program. Rather, the graduate program is much stronger and much more secure today because of the program's commitment to undergraduate education. Since the reorganization, adult education faculty generally spend half their time preparing undergraduate students to become future beginning teachers and half their time both assisting graduate students and pursuing their own research interests.

General Observations Regarding the Wyoming Experience

What the experience in Wyoming suggests is really three things. The first has to do with the role "people" play in directing their destines. The second has to do with the advantages derived through mutually beneficial collaboration between adult education faculty and other college and university faculty. The third has to do with the active engagement of adult education faculty in the preparation of future K-12 teachers.

What happened at Wyoming was as much the consequence of the actions of people as it was the general environment in which the program was located. It has been acknowledged that the program greatly benefited from the caring and generosity of many individuals and that in a number of cases the flux of change created many opportunities for it. But, from the initial faculty member who joined the Department of Educational Administration and Adult Education in 1982 to all the adult education faculty who followed, there existed a clear sense of who they were and what they envisioned for their program. They were all opportunist in at least two uses of the word, i.e., they created opportunities for themselves and their program and they took advantage of opportunities extended by others. Not once did they accept that their future was controlled solely by some impersonal institutional system. They fought and continue to fight for the inclusion of their discipline as an integral player in the learning and teaching mission of the College of Education.

The second observation should be rather obvious. While tendencies toward snobbery and program purity usually destroy programs, collaboration with other university faculty vitalizes them. Knox, Sork and Hall (1993) in their report to the Commission of Professors of Adult Education concur that "mutually

beneficial exchanges with other partners" on and off campus strengthens adult education graduate programs (p.5).

The final observation does not appear to reflect common practice for adult education graduate programs. It is the natural relationship that seems to exist between adult education and K-12 education as partners in lifelong learning, and how the preparation of future teachers is enhanced through their collaboration with each other. Certainly the current popularization of lifelong learning as a national goal and the incorporation of lifelong learning outcomes for many associations and schools provides ample opportunity for adult education faculty. They can embrace their K-12 colleagues and jointly prepare future teachers who understand the importance of learning throughout life, are skilled in fostering this attitude in students no matter the age-level or subject, and are sensitive to the vital connection between social circumstances and growth. Or, they can allow a major opportunity to strengthen their programs to pass them by.

The decades of the 1970s and 1980s are past and with them should pass the vestiges of school-bashing that seemed so prevalent then. From Ivan Illich (1970) and his argument to deschool society to Malcolm Knowles (1970) and his call to adopt a new pedagogy for teaching adults, professors of adult education had ample reasons for insulating themselves from their educational partners. But this isolation had and continues to have significant consequences for many graduate programs in adult education; some may certainly be those Brockett referred to earlier as either reduced in size or already eliminated. My comments are not meant to suggest that adult educators should pullback from critical studies concerning schools and schooling. Rather, adult education researchers may find new vantage points for their work, and greater security for their programs, if they establish closer relationships with K-12 school personnel.

In their report, Knox, Sork and Hall included involvement with K-12 colleagues as one of an assortment of strategies for graduate programs in adult education to consider that would strengthen their base of support:

> "broadening the courses in other departments taken by adult education majors, attracting students from other departments; including faculty members from related departments in adult education projects and student research committees; adult education faculty serving on university committees; contributing to teacher certification programs; and the integration of programs in combined departments instead of mergers that silence. The common theme is interdependence that builds solidarity among stakeholders "(p.5).

What I have attempted to argue is that the active involvement of adult education faculty in the preparation of future K-12 teachers may be one of the surest ways to stabilize their programs and ensure their vitality.

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ADULT LEARNING MODELS IN POST SECONDARY SETTINGS: A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF THE USE OF PROBLEM BASED LEARNING IN TEACHER EDUCATION

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I suspect that when the participants at this conference examine the current role of the universities in educating adult educators that we will find that it is largely limited to a diminishing number of graduate programmes and a very few undergraduate offerings. Where, I wonder, are the faculties of education in Canadian and other universities? In the faculties with which I am most familiar, there is very little interest in preparing candidates for the teaching of anyone other than children in state funded schools. I believe that with a major shift in process and minor adjustments in content our faculties could provide a more broadly viable form of education that would prepare graduates for working with learners at all ages and in many settings. The process, including philosophy and method, is Problem Based Learning (PBL). This paper presents findings from a preliminary study regarding the use of PBL as a way of making teacher education more broadly applicable to teaching both children and adults. The emphasis is on the latter.

First, a caveat. I certainly do not want to find fault with either the sincerity or the diligence of my colleagues. The faculties of education have many creative instructors struggling to offer innovative courses and find new ways of providing professional preparation. Nevertheless, the organizations within which they work tend to be conservative and, in the view of many practitioners, largely irrelevant. These programmes use school-like pedagogies, which are then transplanted to the adult learning settings with predictable outcomes. For me, as an adult educator, this raises the question of finding the most appropriate instructional approaches in faculties of education in Canada (cf. Brundage & MacKeracher, 1980 who looked at the retraining of teachers as adult educators). The question posed initially for this study was: **Can an approach be developed for teacher education that will prepare graduates to teach both children and adults more effectively?**

I worked with the Faculty of Medicine (at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada) (Ambury, 1992, 1993) in setting up their new curriculum and in the training of PBL tutors. There I saw PBL as a way of teaching which respects the adulthood of the students and fostered shared responsibility and self-direction in learning. Possibly of greater significance, it fostered a sense of mutuality and collaboration among the students. It also seemed more compatible with what I was learning about women's ways of knowing. Finally, it modeled approaches to learning that could be useful in working both with children and with adults. How Ironic, I thought. Medicine, and many other professions, were using an approach to teaching that was based in a clear philosophy and proven methods while the faculties of education I knew of stuck close to the old models of the normal school. This paper reports the preliminary findings of an investigation into the implications of incorporating a Problem Based Learning approach in university faculties of education. Its purpose is both to report findings and to inform discussion around this topic. Three specific research questions are addressed.

(1) What are Canadian faculties of education doing that is seen as useful in preparing graduates to teach adults?

(2) What do some adult educators and recent graduates feel about the suitability of their teacher education as preparation for teaching, especially, adults?

(3) What is the possible role of using the approach and method known as Problem Based Learning as a way of making teacher education more

broadly applicable to teaching both children and adults?

Problem Based Learning: Made in Canada, eh?

If I am honest with myself, there is a large leap of faith required to jump from traditional values in teacher education to those espoused in the PBL literature. In a new textbook called *Contemporary Canadian Educational Issues,* (Roberts & Clifton, 1995) the editors work from the assumption that "Faculties of education are organizations for the professional socialization of student teachers" (p. 372). This generalization was supported when I read the calendars from various universities. There are many critics of this position but I fear that the dominant paradigm of the normal school continues. I dare say that part of the role of PBL is also professional socialization: But, it can have a transformative effect on students and on the organizations that use it. I will not go into a critique of adult education practice here. We are all aware that much of what goes on in the name of education is really geared to social control and maintenance of hierarchical relationships. If any doubt remains, I suggest reading some feminist critiques of the field (e.g., Feminism in Adult Education: Fostering Visibility and Change for Women, Special Issue of *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, Payeur, Taylor, and Warren, 1994 or Lewis' carefully considered work on women in the academy, 1993).

PBL, at least for medical education, had its origins in the work of the late James E. Anderson at McMaster School of Medicine (in Ontario, Canada). According to Howard S. Barrows, who has become the unofficial dean of PBL worldwide "Mac [was] the real trailblazer for us all" (1995, 2 March, electronic discussion). From small beginnings in Canada and the United States in the late sixties this attempt at improving the effectiveness of professional preparation has swept medical education in North America. From a review of the literature and communications on an international PBL-list many other professions are using this or closely related approaches. These include: Educational administration graduate courses, chemical engineering, school teachers (reading, writing, mathematics and science), business, engineering architecture and civil engineering, construction management and nursing. There are even institutes to teach school teachers how to use PBL from K to 12. In the past 25 years PBL has moved from something that was virtually unknown in educational circles to a tested and proven approach to educating professionals in many parts of the world.

There are many reasons why a problem based, student centred approach has been attractive in professional education. Professional knowledge is never static. Barrows and Tamblyn, in their classic work assert that "only student-centred learning will help the student 'learn how to learn,' a lifetime need for his [sic] professional work" (1980, p. 16). Another problem with traditional methods is that of transfer of knowledge from academic to clinical or practical settings. Medical educators feel that PBL is an effective aid to transfer. In most professions, no one can claim total expertise thus, the need is for research and teamwork skills which are at the heart of PBL. It is also enjoyable for those in charge. When I asked tutors about their experience of tutoring they said things like, "This is going to become part of my normal teaching load. I wouldn't miss it for the world." Another said, "Actually I'm enjoying it more than I do my clinical skills teaching" (Ambury, 1992, p. 14).

Agreement on just what is and is not PBL is illusive. Barrows has been (1986) and continues to be quite specific. Other authors see the expression more generically (Chen, Cowdroy, Kingsland, & Ostwald, 1994, p. 9 or Walton & Matthews, 1989 p. 246). To capture the sense of passion in the idea, let me quote Barrows from a discussion about what PBL is.

> Unfortunately the term is now generic and there are many species. . . .What follows is a synthesis of a PBL method we have been developing through R&D in medical school, other professional schools and K-12.
>
> To me an important element is that it is student-centred and the teacher facilitates the students' ability to take control of self-learning through guidance when it is needed." A guide at the side and not the sage on the stage."
>
> The problems in PBL should represent those the student is most likely to encounter in the real

world after graduation, the common, the uncommon but high risk if not recognized and handled well, and those that are models. They can be problems, situations, complex tasks, whatever will challenge the student after graduation and require the application of what is learned in school.

The problem presentation should be in a manner and format that allows the student to use the same cognitive processes required in real world. The problem should be ill-structured, requiring the generation of multiple hypotheses. And the teacher should not necessarily know what the right one(s) is. The student should be able to freely inquire to establish or rule out possible hypotheses.

The students should be able to access information from a wide range of disciplines in solving the problem so that information will be integrated and organized in ways useful to work in the real world and be retrieved through association with real world problem, situation or task cues.

The series of behaviours required of the students should be those that are expected of the student facing real world problems, situation or tasks.

The problem is that the term PBL is narrow and does not suggest these things nor stress the self-directed learning skills, thinking skills team skills and love of learning that PBL can develop in the learner. (1995, February 28, electronic discussion group [1]).

Because of the shared word, I find people sometimes confuse PBL with teaching problem solving skills which is more like solution based learning (Cowdroy, 1994, p. 47). However, there is a distinct and important difference between teaching problem solving and using PBL. Often, the professional is inclined to address and solve problems and wants to help others do this as quickly as possible. A PBL problem is set so that it will not lend itself to a single hypothesis or a quick solution. It is to be a learning device, not something to be solved and dispensed with. Don Wood of McMaster is credited with the story about the person who comes home to a house flooded due to a water leak. Having heard about PBL they decide to use this problem as an opportunity to learn about fluid flow, plumbing, the insurance system and reactions of people under stress. Another person under the circumstance would be a problem solver and either fix the leak or call a plumber. The problem would be solved but nothing would be learned (I. Ingemarss, 1995, 28 February, electronic mail). The point is; there is a place for each but if the objectives include learning than PBL is the way to go.

Teacher education and adult education have tended to be uncomfortable bed mates. PBL can probably bridge the gap. In the faculty of education at the University of Sydney, I understand, there is a plan to move to a two-year programme and use PBL. As data are presented for each of the research questions, it will become clearer what may be done in a country like Canada.

Method

The process of gathering information to answer each of the research questions was different. Information to help answer the first question was gathered through a review of the advertised programmes of 17 Canadian faculties of education offering courses in English. Group interviews with three groups of graduating students was also informative although the findings were more relevant to the next question. I talked with four people who were trained as teachers and were working with adults to learn what practicing teachers of adults felt about their preparation. Because of the preliminary nature of the study, the interviewing process was more like investigative journalism than survey method. The appropriateness of PBL for teacher education was examined through a review of the literature, talking with teachers and discussions on a PBL listserver. In sum, I used all the data to help begin understanding the issues more clearly.

Results and Discussion

This was not intended to be a "scientific" study and I do not claim to have found definitive answers to these questions. Nevertheless, I did find some interesting information about teacher education as a preparation for adult educators. I must admit that I had not systematically tried to listen to graduates of

teacher education programmes before. Neither had I contemplated the implications of using PBL for preparing people to work with adults. In this section the three questions are reopened and the possible implications of what I found are discussed.

What Are Canadian Faculties of Education Doing?

The first question to be addressed was, what are Canadian faculties of education doing that is probably useful in preparing graduates to teach adults? The simple answer is very little. Teachers of adults told me that there are some courses that are quite helpful, usually concerning teaching elementary school children. These include ESL/FSL, reading and learning how to learn. However, most respondents were quite cynical. One recent graduate said, "A lot of times I felt like an undergraduate. I expected to be treated more like an adult." A woman teaching in a school sponsored continuing education centre said that she had trouble adjusting because she was only prepared for stand-up teaching. Often secondary school teachers in such settings will set up workshops where they can do some more traditional teaching. Teachers in correctional settings where there is a continuous input also have a similar problem of finding an alternate model of helping people learn. Exploring in various places, I found little evidence of PBL or adult education courses in most universities. The University of Ottawa pilot project, *An Alternative Approach to Teacher Education: Preparing Teachers for Excellence in the Facilitation of Lifelong Learning*, (Dempsey, Greger and Mutart, 1987) was an attempt in that direction. Several faculties have had, in the past, courses in adult or community education but with diminishing resources these are the first to be cut or neglected. It should have come as no surprise that PBL was never mentioned.

I went through the calendars of 17 universities to see what faculties of education might be advertising. The search was not exhaustive and I am hoping to refine the data in our discussions. Several faculties have had courses in adult or community education but with diminishing resources these dropped (e.g., Queen's, Concordia). Some offer courses as electives (Dalhousie, Manitoba and Ottawa). Memorial University offers a Diploma programme in adult teacher education and The University of New Brunswick offers two degree programmes and one certificate programme in adult education. Non mentioned using PBL or a related approach although two did say that they used small seminar groups for some of their teaching.

Queries on the pbl-list and correspondence with persons familiar with PBL in Canada have not turned up many examples of PBL in teacher education. Requests for information on the pbl-list discussion group have only yielded one example, worldwide. I understand that the Faculty of Education at the University of Sydney has recently revised its one-year graduate diploma of education (teacher training) into a two-year Masters degree. This will use an integrated problem-based approach (Ann Sefton, 4 April 1995, personal correspondence). Searches of ERIC and International ERIC have not provided any examples of PBL in teacher education. Possibly PBL has been tried and found wanting but I am inclined to believe that it has not been tried.

The Suitability of Teacher Education, Especially as Preparation for Teaching Adults.

What do some adult educators and recent graduates feel about the suitability of their teacher education as preparation for teaching adults? Preliminary data based on interviews are suggesting possibilities. Some teachers do not see that there was much value in their teacher education even for teaching young people. One person teaching in a school board continuing education programme said she did not see much difference between adults and kids as students but that she misses the stand-up teaching. A new teacher of adults said that she did not know what to do—nothing in her teacher education had prepared her to work one to one or in small groups with adults. However, she noted that the people were great. A senior staff person said, "Teaching adults is a lot more complicated than we (read I?) originally thought." Despite these negative feelings, there were some themes that emerged which may offer clues to more fruitful directions.

I went through the data from the 39 people with whom I had discussed their experience of teacher education in search of themes that would be inclusive of all responses. What I will focus on here are the

four sets of responses that may give some direction in modifying the teacher education experience. I was interested in finding what was seen as useful by the learners and what might help them feel more satisfied and better equipped with a wider repertoire of skills.

The participants wanted to learn cooperation and mutual respect. An experienced teacher of adults said, "I had this one particular course with this prof that emphasized the ways in which people learn. She especially focussed on personhood and respect of the students. And I think that is a skill that we can take and use." A new teacher said, "One of the best experiences was bouncing ideas for specific lessons with my classmates and developing new strategies to get through to students." One of her peers commented, "I learned that when I need help on any particular problem I have many people I can rely on for help." An ESL teacher said, An important thing is to learn how to create a dialogue in the classroom in which people are feeling that it is safe to talk. . . . Really learning how to be a good listener."

With at least one third of the respondents the issue of competition and cooperation arose. It was pointed out that these students enter a faculty of education from a series of competitive settings. Suddenly they learn, if they are working with younger children or adults, that competition in learning may be a real barrier. "I would have liked to have had more chances to learn from my peers," said one. "That only happened in one class." There seems, then, to be a need for more opportunities to do collaborative learning and to reduce the emphasis on the professor as the sole expert. I asked people to clarify their position on competition versus cooperation. Most of them felt that there was a place for competition but that it had been over emphasized in their university experience. They wanted to experience something different in an education faculty.

There was a desire for more time for reflection and discussion. This is in part a continuation of the previous theme. In spite of what faculty members may think, many of their students are well aware of weaknesses in their programme and inadequacies that they will later face. "There was rarely a forum for critical reflection," noted an experienced person reflecting back on her teacher education. Another said, "The foundations course XXX was the only one where I had to **think** not just do." One person who had been in a specialized programme did note in a group interview, where this topic was being discussed, "because of [my special programme] I feel I have somewhat of an advantage in being prepared for critical analysis of why I'm teaching what I am." Someone in another group was pleased. She said. "I have learned how to find the answers that work for me, thanks to professor __." One of the participants summed it up in his way, "What was missing was context. There was lots of good ideas but not enough on how it all fits together. There was no unity."

Discussions arose about the difference between training the teacher as a proficient technician or as a professional with the ability to search out new answers and evaluate them critically and knowledgeably. Graduating students and practitioners alike give mixed responses to the theory versus practical skills debate. When we talked about it they realize the falseness of the dichotomy but they still feel that something was missing. The man who said, "What is missing is context" offers a helpful insight.

People wanted modelling of facilitation more than lecturing. Most of those who had been trained as school teachers and ended up teaching adults felt ill prepared. One of those who had been trained to teach in the secondary school was not aware of much of a problem. It seems that primary teachers have more in common philosophically with adult educators than those who teach older children. This may, in part, explain why the University of Ottawa Pilot was run by the Primary/Junior Panel (Dempsey, Greger and Mutart, 1987). One woman told me, "When I went into a teaching situation that was completely unfamiliar to me, that I was not trained for, and that was teaching ESL to adults I was in a lot of trouble. And I focussed on my students as **people** and I was able to make my way through." She had no idea of how to teach or even how to help these people learn: Yet instinctively she appealed to them as people and let them share the problem. An experienced teacher in an adult education setting concluded, "The most important thing in working with these adults is to help them build their self-confidence." One person felt that there should be more emphasis in the faculties on mentoring.

Another said, "There are still some profs who are extremely teacher-centred. This 'Do as I say, not as I do' approach just doesn't cut it."

An experienced adult educator summed it up by saying, "I wonder if you can be a good facilitator if you have not been put through a method of facilitation. I don't think you can be taught directly in a traditional form of how to be a facilitator. I think you would have to be a part of an actual facilitation situation." The adage, "We teach as we were taught," holds true even when the way we were taught was not what we would have wanted. The plea for modelling appropriate and relevant styles is one that bears hearing.

Problem-Based Learning and Teacher Education. The third question asked, What is the possible role of using PBL as a way of making teacher education more broadly applicable to teaching both children and adults? Children in some schools in the United States are taught by this method. The Coordinator for Teacher Development in The Center for Problem-Based Learning at the Illinois Mathematics and Science Academy, says that they run teacher education institutes and research PBL applications in grades K-16. Barrows' interests also go into the education of children. He says that the Problem Based Learning Institute (PBLI) was set up to further the work on PBL refined over twenty years at the Southern Illinois University School of Medicine. Their project includes developing resources and training teachers to use PBL in K-12 classrooms in what is called the Ventures in Education network of more than 80 elementary schools and one High School. The PBLI also offers training thorough its summer workshops.

The lack of general acceptance of a common definition of PBL may cause problems in uncovering actual use of the approach. Those who feel it is a generic term for some forms of experiential education may use other names to describe what they are doing and yet claim it is a form of PBL. Difficulties with negative connotations to the word Problem in social work may also apply in education (English, Gaha & Gibbons, 1994). At the University of Newcastle School of Social Work they have chosen to call their approach, experience-based learning (p. 280) but claim it is a form of PBL. Many faculties do use various forms of experiential education and small group methods which may have much in common with PBL.

One group was making a plea for more instruction in the use of computers and the internet. I raised the question of the cost of staffing. This was not seen as a problem The group felt that peer teaching would work well. This sounded like a group with a problem beginning to look for hypotheses on how it might be solved. A part time graduate student who had recently completed an adult education course saw possible answers to many problems with teacher education. She said, "I did my project on Problem Based Learning and I would love to find a program like that and go through it."

Conclusions

"'The tragedy of life is not death but what dies in us when we are alive.' That is a quote from Norman Cousins," said a man as he mused on his experience of being prepared to be an educator. For some, teacher education seems a loss of innocence and a beginning of cynicism. If what they have experienced is the best that we educators can provide, why should they have hope? Nevertheless, the people with whom I talked were cautiously optimistic. They offered some interesting possibilities and suggestions. We in the faculties of education need to listen if we are to discover an approach to teacher education that will prepare graduates to teach both children and adults more effectively?

One area that received more comments than any other category was the participants' wish that they had had more opportunities to learn how to foster cooperation and mutual respect in a learning environment. In the PBL groups I have observed, there is little room for either the show off or for the slacker. Learning becomes more like playing jazz or improvisation on stage. It is a duet rather than a solo; a caring community rather than a competitive battlefield. Each feels, after a time, a need to work together toward their goal of understanding and learning from the given problem. In the professional practice of adult education, like medicine, there is little place for competition among practitioners if the clients are to be served adequately. In talking with a physician who had gone through the McMaster PBL medical programme, I asked about the difference it

had made to her. She said that she felt she was more willing to admit to a patient that she did not have the immediate answer. She was also less reluctant than many of her colleagues to ask for help or to make referrals. I would also like teachers of adults, as well as children, to be willing to turn to their peers or to people with expertise when the answers are not clearly available.

There was an expressed desire for more time for critical reflection and discussion. Several were aware of the work of Schön and wondered why his approach was ignored. Others did not feel that value neutral reflection would do any good. They wanted to have more opportunity and skill in critical reflection. PBL does not ensure that practice will be critiqued but it does provide the opportunity.

The people with whom I talked wanted their instructors to model facilitation of learning and reduce the amount of lecturing. This can be a difficulty, especially at first, in PBL groups. Tutors (or facilitators) often come from a background in which their greatest teaching rewards came from excellent lecturing. Suddenly we ask them to facilitate learning and it is difficult. One of my respondents in the medical study said, "The urge to get in there and say what is going on is almost unstoppable" (Ambury, 1992, p. 13). Most of the practicing adult educators felt that lecturing was not what helped their clients learn best yet that is what they had seen displayed most often. This is not to say that there is no place for lectures. I am quite fond of them myself, especially when I am the lecturer.

Whatever the reasons, PBL has been slow to make inroads into teacher training programmes around the world. There is no doubt; some parts of the traditional teacher training programmes do have applications in teaching adults. The practitioners appreciated these but felt they were the exceptional courses. It appears that major adjustments are needed to make the programme of the faculties of education more generally applicable. PBL is being used widely with children in some jurisdictions now and it is providing the basis for much of the training of many professionals. It would also be an appropriate basis for a faculty of education and that it could help prepare graduates to teach both children and adults more effectively.

In closing, let me mention again that this was a preliminary investigation: nothing can be decided based only on these data and opinions. I had a hunch that PBL could be a potent tool for changing teacher education for the better and I am now more convinced but still cautious. PBL is no panacea and where it has been poorly implemented people have learned to distrust its potential. Having come to this point, I am confident that there will be enough evidence, after a more thorough investigation, to make some fruitful beginnings. Because of this exploration, I plan to start this fall.

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[1]Articles are available on pbl-list through majordomo@monash,edu,au

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A QUALITY-LEARNING ORGANIZATION AS A MODEL FOR VOCATIONAL LEARNING CENTERS IN FINLAND

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Introduction

Our quality-learning organization is a combination of ideas and practices from the models of learning organizations and total quality management (TQM). More than 300 workers are studying and developing their work following this concept in the learning centers of North Karelia in Finland. We are two people (Urpo Sarala and Anita Sarala) from the faculty of education to train, research and consult in this project. This project has also led to cooperation with universities and training programs for adult educators.

Background: Changes in Work Life and Vocational Training

The main shop steward of a big clothing plant said in an interview:

> " In the past one had to drudge along alone. Now the whole team is answerable for quality products. Good group spirit means more money for everybody. Time passes quickly because the variety of work."

This is a good example of the transition from Tayloristic work towards flexible teamwork. The following features are typical in modern work-life:

- We need more cooperation and teamwork;
- Work contents have become larger and more skilled workers are needed;
- We must rapidly combine expertise and know-how using networks and team-organization.

What does this mean in learning for life and for vocational qualifications? What does this means for learning institutes (including university and vocational training schools)? We do not need persons who have studied many years but who still can do nothing. We need people who can put knowledge to work. Schools need to do a better job and so do employees. Students and workers must work smarter. Workplace skills (U.S. Department of Labor Definition) include the productive use of :

- Resources—allocating time, money, materials, space, and staff;
- Interpersonal Skills—working in teams, teaching others, serving customers, leading, negotiating, and working well with people from culturally diverse backgrounds;
- Information—acquiring and evaluating data, organizing and maintaining files, interpreting and communicating, and using computers to process information;
- Systems—understanding social, organizational, and technological systems, monitoring and correcting performances, and designing or improving systems;
- Technology—selecting equipment and tools, applying technology to specific tasks, and maintaining and "troubleshooting" technologies.

These skills are also useful in life in general not only for the work-life. What does this mean in universities and in training institutes? Apparently, educational institutions that expect to be successful in the future must exhibit the same type of flexibility that globally-competitive business firms are developing. If institutions want to compete successfully, they must shorten their response times, increase flexibility in curricula and delivery methods, and improve the whole quality of actions and outputs. In universities

and vocational training institutes this means the development of teamwork and networks between people and between different kinds of institutes and work organizations.

Schools and vocational training institutes are still bureaucratic and organized according to Taylorian principles. Until now, curricula have been organized by teaching traditional subjects separately. In Finland the central government (The Board of Education) has given strict orders to institutes, and they have had to obey. Now the whole administrative system is changing in our country. The focus of administration is shifting from the central level to the local level. This means that there is not only a possibility, but an important necessity to make local curricula meet local needs. Nobody is giving straight orders and advice, and the institutes must prepare new curricula in cooperation with the work life.

Most of the teachers in our vocational institutes are employed full-time. Some of them began their career right after completing their studies. They have varying amount of practice in firms and plants. Often their work experiences are old-fashioned. Many teachers have difficulties in following the rapid changes occurring in the work-life. Work as a teacher in universities and vocational training institutes is a very individual and restricted job because of the strict division of subjects. You are responsible for your lessons, which are a part of the entire curriculum, that you need to know very little about. To link the different parts, a new working culture to support cooperation and teamwork is needed.

There is a need to reorganize personnel, studies and courses simultaneously. The large themes in studies must be planned along the lines of the processes and practices used in the work life. Real material and cases from the work-life should be used in study tasks. This requires immense cooperation between the teachers of different subjects. It also means cooperation between different organizations in networks. This is only possible if the personnel have a common vision of their goals and a common model to achieve them. Within the common frame of reference, you need practical mental and physical tools for cooperation.

To manage these changes, most vocational institutes have begun developmental projects and new cooperation. In some regions of Finland, separate vocational training institutes have combined into so called "learning centers". It is believed that these administrative transformations facilitate personal study plans and help cooperation between teachers of different institutions and subjects.

In North Karelia this reorganization has been done in cooperation with the Universities of Helsinki and Joensuu. In this large change process we have had the roles of researchers, trainers and consultants. We have planned and executed a research and training program for the personnel of the learning centers. Within this development work, there has been a good occasion to test our model of " the learning quality organization". In practice, this has meant a new combination of training and development to combine work and learning in everyday jobs. This has also meant finding a new type of cooperation between the vocational institutes and the universities. The results of this work may already be seen in the training program for adult educators. In this presentation we present some preliminary results. They are experiences, difficulties, ideas for individual, team and organizational learning and for training adult educators in universities. This is a case study of how to become a quality-learning organization.

What is a Quality-Learning Organization?

Our quality-learning organization is a combination of ideas and practices from the models of **learning organizations and team-learning** (Argyris - Schön, 1978; Dechant, - Kasl, 1993; Garvin, 1993, Pedler - Burgoyne - Boydell, 1991, Senge, 1990a,b, Woolner, 1992.) and **total quality management (TQM) and process management** (Marchese, 1991; Melvin III, 1991). (See Figure 1)

The model of a quality-learning organization is an ideal model for organizational practices and development. It includes the vision of and pathway to a productive, flexible and learning organization. Based on this model, we made a practical organizational development program including a test ("Is your organization a quality learning organization?"). Using this program, an organization may work towards becoming a quality-learning organization. In practice, this means an active

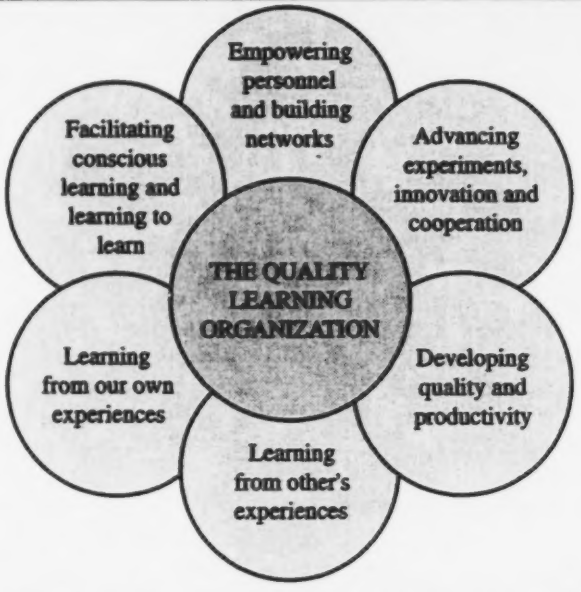
Empowering personnel and building networks
Facilitating conscious learning and learning to learn
Advancing experiments, innovation and cooperation
THE QUALITY LEARNING ORGANIZATION
Learning from our own experiences
Developing quality and productivity
Learning from other's experiences

Figure 1. DEVELOPING THE QUALITY - LEARNING ORGANIZATION

developmental work on every level of organization as follows:

1. Developing quality and productivity by applying ideas and methods of total quality management (TQM) and process management.

2. Facilitating conscious learning and learning to learn through the practices and work of the organization.

3. Advancing experiments, innovations and cooperation by training and management procedures.

4. Learning from our own experiences and the history of the organization.

5. Learning from others' experiences and the best ways of working (benchmarking).

Towards a Quality-Learning Organization - Combining a Self Directed Study Program and Practical Teamwork

More than 300 workers are studying and developing their work in the learning centers of North Karelia. Unfortunately, our resources to support and research these processes are quite limited. We are (Urpo Sarala and Anita Sarala) from the faculty of education at the University of Helsinki to research and consult in this project. The interesting challenge has been: How to build a training and research program for three hundred people.

We have made some trips to North Karelia to become acquainted with the situation and the institutes. In our target organization, training and discussion workshops were organized on the local level. In these meetings we gave some lectures about new challenges in vocational training and about the concept of a quality-learning organization. The participants discussed and concretized these matters in groups.

It was apparently from the beginning that we must construct a very self-directing research and development program for the personnel of the four learning centers. We have called it **" The Quality-learning Organization development program" (later the QLO program).** The basic idea was to create study materials and exercises for individuals and teams to help the participants to become active, cooperative and self directed. The exercises for pairwork and for teams were meant to lead them to meet and to critically analyze new challenges. From this basis they could go on to develop their everyday work.

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The main aims of **the QLO program** are:

1. To provide a model of a quality-learning organization for action and the evaluation of practices.

2. To give models and tools for practical cooperation and teamwork, including forms to assist the teams to plan, evaluate and document their development work.

3. To activate and to motivate the personnel of vocational training centres in teams to analyze and to develop their activities according to the future vision of their organization.

4. To build up organizational support for teams.

5. To give the personnel active roles as cooperative researchers according to the principles of participatory action research (Whyte 1991). Follow-up research was also planned to get feedback and activate self-evaluation and self-directed learning.

6. To develop studies in adult education and courses for the training of adult educators at Helsinki and Joensuu Universities. We also want to provide the students with a tempting occasion for personal research and development project.

7. Building networks within and between organizations and developing active communication and information on individual and collective levels.

The Organization of the Study Program and Participatory Research

Last autumn we mobilized **the QLO program** through local seminars and workshops. The participants got information and advice for self-study, and were organized into teams. In organizing the teams, several criteria were used. The core task of every team was to integrate learning and development activities into their everyday work.

The participants were not only teachers. The entire staff in every learning center took part in the program. They organized into more than 50 teams. Some teams concentrated on planning new study programs and curricula. Other made selling plans for institutes, some come up with creative ideas and suggestions to develop the quality of teaching and learning. Some teams are building networks within and between training centres. Others are concentrating on cooperation with work life. Parallel with these activities, every team has to complete seven developmental study tasks, including reports from **the QLO program** material. In doing these tasks, they also analyze their work and make plans to develop it in cooperation with each other. Some tasks are planned to give feedback from processes and operations and lead them towards critical reflection. They complete surveys and forms about the processes of the teams. These results provide them with information about their success in realizing the principles of the quality leaning organization. Students take part in some teams and give their ideas on developmental work.

We are in agreement with Dechant, Marsick and Kasl (1993) that there is a phenomenon of collective learning which differs from individual learning. Group learning may be an important link between individual and organizational learning. In **the QLO program** there are a progressive series of developmental tasks. A staff member begins to study with **the QLO program** material to prepare for a meeting with a colleague (individual learning). In this meeting they complete special task. The tasks lead them to analyze their own effectiveness and that of the organization. They make short presentations about these reflections and prepare some themes and questions for a larger group (team learning). In teams, they give short presentations and the whole team reflects on them and discusses them.

The main point is not only to discuss but to use new ideas and information in problem-solving processes to develop their everyday work (team learning). Thus studying and developing are combined. The coordination of this local activity is done by a group of team-coaches or facilitators. In every institution there are two team-coaches—one is the principal and the other is a teacher who is specialized in teamwork. They give and receive feedback from the teams. They organize meetings with team leaders, general feedback and work conferences. In these meetings the new ways to work is collectively developed using the experiences, feedback and results from different teams (organizational learning).

Teamwork and team-learning must be supported

because they call for a new work culture. In every vocational institute within learning centers there are two "team-consultants". They follow and support the teamwork. One of these consultants is always the principle while the other is a teacher who is especially interested and experienced in team—and group-work. Their duty is also to sit in on team-meetings and to motivate people.

Every team has to make an action plan beforehand and write a short summary of every meeting. These summaries are copied and distributed to the team-consultants and to us. This provides interesting qualitative research material for our follow-up study. Analyzing this material from the "grass root level" we can follow the progress of the whole development project. Every half year all participants complete an evaluation form "is your organization a quality-learning organization". We shall use these results in a follow up study and in our research reports. With this data we may also compare the progress in different learning centers.

COOPERATION WITH UNIVERSITIES AND TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR ADULT EDUCATORS

Combining Personal University Studies and Participation in Developmental Work

It takes about one year to complete **the QLO program.** There is an agreement with the University of Joensuu to grant credits towards a degree in adult education completing **the QLO program.** The number of credits varies from one to five. The number of credits allotted is based on the reports and documents emerging from teamwork. The first group have now completed their studies and received their certificates. This increases the motivation to take the course because many learning center teachers study adult education or personnel development.

Combining Postgraduate Studies in Education With the QLO Program

We have gathered two research teams and have begun to build networks of learning organizations on international and national levels. One of these teams is part of a larger international research group, consisting members from different European countries. We are applying to the European Union for a research project. The Finnish research team also includes four postgraduate students. The research area is learning organizations. In Finland the main source of empirical data is from **the QLO program.**

Using Experiences and Data from the QLO Program as a Source of Teaching and Training for Adult Educators

My students in adult education at the University of Helsinki may use the research material collected in North Karelia. We have a dream to build up a new type of field study for training adult educators. We would like to take groups of students into North Karelia to study and to combine the theory and practice of the quality-learning organization. These field studies consist of teaching, consultancy and organizational developmental work in real contexts. They could last two to three weeks at a time. My role would be as a coach for my students. We are also writing a textbook for adult educators about quality-learning organizations.

Some Preliminary Results of the QLO Program

The first annual report from our project has been published in the research series of the Finnish National Board of Education. **The QLO** program has lasted eight months. I would like to present a summary of the results until now.

The project has made progress in the following respect:

- The participants have accepted quite well the common frame of reference "the quality-learning organization". They report that this model has helped them in practice.
- Most people see learning centers as a new possibility for cooperation and innovations in everyday work.
- Work in most teams began very rapidly and the teams have already been very productive

- more than 60% of the personnel in learning centers say that there is now more cooperation in and between vocational institutes and

- 30% of the personnel in learning centers say that there is now more cooperation between vocational institutes and the work life.

- The whole personnel (not only teachers) has taken part in the QLO program. The program has led almost everybody to take part establishing a common vision for the future.

- The management of the vocational institutes has taken an active part in the project and the personnel has experienced this as inspiring and supportive.

We have met the following problems and resistance:

- There have been contradictions and power conflicts between some institutes within the learning centers. Therefore, cooperation between some institutes has been difficult.

- A very small minority of the participants are quite passive. In any case they have not refused to take part in the QLO program.

- The aims of some teams are too vague and their activity is more concentrated on general discussion than on concrete developmental work.

- Some of these teams do not keep a record of their meetings and it is difficult to know what is happening in these teams.

- Our funding was mostly for the year 1994. We have made new applications for research funds. If things go wrong we must limit our activities and concentrate on a restricted follow up study 1995 to 1997.

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APPLICATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF "LEARNING TO LEARN": A SURVEY OF ADULT EDUCATION GRADUATE STUDENT EXPERIENCES

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Introduction

Learning to Learn (LTL), a graduate adult education course taught at Northern Illinois University, offers a methodology for learning which can be contextualized in diverse situations. The course is based on a series of modules—exercises which lead the learners to think of themselves in terms of their own learning. Through suspension of judgment, reflection, and monitoring of feelings, students become aware of their own learning processes. Additionally, they are made aware of their own learning style and the impact it has on their learning.

If lifelong learning is an assumed component of adult education, then LTL principles can aid learners, helping them to learn meaningfully and to provide support for others in their learning. However, there are those who would argue for more noble aims of adult education than the production of more efficient learners. Learning to learn, as presently conceptualized, is admittedly only a "technology" for learning. It does not directly address larger social issues. Nor does it examine the motives of any educational endeavour whose goal of developing learner efficiency is unattached to a concomitant goal of developing learner awareness of or commitment to social concerns. At best LTL is a learning tool with applicability to most contexts; at worst it mistakes learning for thinking.

I interviewed former NIU LTL students to discover if or how they applied LTL principles in their work. This project, was designed primarily for course assessment. However, LTL needs to be examined further for the potential it may provide graduate programs.

Conceptual Overview
Learners' Needs, Learning Style and, Training: Three Elements of LTL

Learner's Needs

Smith (1989) defines three basic elements that form the LTL concept: learners' needs, learning style and training. Within the first element (or major component), learners' needs, are three sub-components: understanding skills, learning skills, and self knowledge.

a. Understanding Skills

A basic sub-component of learners needs can be defined as the understanding skills required for learning. Although study skills are typically assumed as a needs requirement, the concept of LTL is based on general understandings about learning, rather than on study skills. It includes knowledge and understanding of: learning processes that can be acquired; the best conditions for learning and; many of the options for learning. Additionally, learners must be made aware that learning is not based on age—one can become more self directed, through taking control over learning, at any age. Finally, learners must know and understand that learning about learning may challenge their learning assumptions and beliefs. Some anxiety is to be expected (Smith 1989).

b. Learning Skills

Smith (1989) lists basic learning skills as the second needs sub-component integral to successful LTL. Of primary importance is active listening, a communication

fundamental, that must be developed in the "new" learner. Visual literacy, especially in media-generated learning, is another necessary learning skill.

c. Self Knowledge

The last sub-component of learners' needs is self knowledge. Awareness and understanding of oneself as a learner can lead to insights about learning strengths or weaknesses, and blocks to learning. Additionally, environmental preferences, comfort level of learning settings, degree of structure or autonomy desired, all affect the learners' attitude about learning (Smith 1989).

These three sub-components of learners' needs work in synergy within each of three learning modes: self-directed learning, collaborative learning, and institutional learning. Educational processes for these three learning modes include aspects of planning such as goal setting, carrying out the learning goal with awareness and utilization of personal learning requirements, and evaluating what was learned in the particular mode (Smith 1989).

Learning Style

The second major element of LTL is learning style, which Smith defines as "the individual's characteristic ways of processing information, feeling, and behaving in learning situations." Learning style includes, but is not limited to, such things as, the degree to which one is an auditory, visual or kinesthetic learner. Preferences for amount of structure, competition, and learning environment are also considered in learning styles.

Training

The third and final element of LTL is training. Training is purposive, organized education that provides learning about learning and thus learning proficiency (Smith 1989). Adults can become better learners whether they are self-directed, collaborative, or institutional-based learners, through the interplay of learning needs, which provide operational processes, learning style, that deals with differences and idiosyncrasies in learners, and training, for learning success.

The above description of LTL elements is provided to acquaint newcomers with the concept. It is a brief review for those already familiar with LTL.

NIU's LTL: Typical Activities for a LTL Class

Northern's LTL class employs several exercises that use small group discussions in problem generating and solving. For instance, one such small group exercise, collaborative learning, though highly structured for the role each participant plays, is paradoxically at the same time, loose and open. The participants must forge their own new ground in generating a problem based topic to discuss, design questions toward a goal, and through consensus "solve" the problem generated. The specific problem is not of great concern. However, the evolving process of group dynamics is experienced very personally by group members, therefore, anxious feelings may accompany collaborative learning. Thus the process often becomes emotional. Argument, disagreement, and resulting working compromises are not uncommon in the collaborative learning exercise. During this exercise the learner must use active listening, and make self-assessments—weigh values inherent in their learning assumptions—while engaging with or confronted by other group members. Accessing a new found learning style is another disconcerting factor for some group members. Therefore, considerable "un-learning" may have to be accomplished during this training module. Ideally, collaborative learning creates a context that can facilitate placing the locus of what is learned, and how it is learned, in the learner.

Other modules are designed as similarly learner centered, yet remain flexible enough to accommodate various learning contexts. Activities may vary from semester to semester around a core of established exercises. The goal is to develop learning strategies and alternatives for action that are applicable to any situation. Learning one's learning style is a significant component of course work. Students often find this a fascinating and personal aspect of the course. They are encouraged to profit from applications of their learning style in other courses or activities.

Writing a reflective journal, a course mainstay,

provides an opportunity for students to examine their thoughts, motives, and feelings, about learning to learn. Although most students initially experience difficulty in journal writing, most eventually find it an excellent method to develop the necessary self reflection that is integral to LTL. How to learn, and the responsibility for learning, thus become the learners own product. What is learned also rests with the learner.

Learning evaluation is demonstrated through an "application paper," an end of term paper that describes a student designed application of LTL that integrates the principles presented in the learning to learn class. Students typically either redesign their ongoing training, or create plans for a proposed training course.

Method

Coursework efficacy and learning transfer is often assumed in content based classwork that teaches specific "how to" material for occupational use. Therefore, although the application paper is an important part of the course that ostensibly demonstrates LTL principles, it may illustrate only content learning, not the actual internalization of the LTL process. To ascertain if learning transfer was occurring, and if LTL was actually being applied in out of class settings, I conducted a survey of 15 former class members, questioning them about various aspects of LTL. These 15 volunteered from about 60 that were picked by selecting every fourth name from class rosters between 1991 and 1994. Five survey questions—designed by Bob Smith, the course creator, and myself—aimed at finding out LTL applications. Additionally, subsets of the questions served to tease out specific utilization of the process. A sixth question was included in order to elicit ways to improve the course. (See Appendix for a list of the questions.)

The information gained from this survey indicated a strong positive response to the subject matter and various applications of LTL concepts by the former class members. Some respondents are ongoing students at NIU, others have returned to their jobs, most are in various stages of completion of their doctoral dissertations. Their occupations include the military, business consulting, nursing, ESL teaching, the professorate, students, school administration, physical therapy, university staff, and instructional technology, among others.

Individual interviews were conducted, either in person or by telephone. The interviews were audio taped and transcribed for coding. Concepts central to each question were extracted and analyzed (Merriam and Simpson, 1989, pp. 95-99). The first question concerned personal learning assumptions, the second queried changes in one's learning practice, followed by one's organizational applications. Question four centered on LTL personal applications and question five examined how LTL altered awareness in several areas. The sixth question is not included in this report.

Results

This study represents ongoing work. Therefore at this point results for each question are presented in generalized terms.

Question one, "learning assumptions," clearly indicated that participants were made more aware of their own learning processes, how they learned and about their learning styles. One respondent said "it identified my learning style, you can use it when you know what it is." Another commented that he "was able to reflect back on [his] childhood and understand why [he] had been so frustrated in some learning situations." Permission to learn individualistically was mentioned by others as well. For many it was the first time they had thought of their own learning, or of themselves as learners, a very powerful feeling about self awareness as a learner was woven through the answers. Various commentary supported respondents' feelings about the "many ways of learning," and that it "must be an active, not passive process". All 15 respondents made statements in this vein.

"Changes in your practice," question two, revealed many changes in the respondents' attitudes about their studies, learning or teaching. "I'm not so uptight about graduate study anymore"; "I am now more open to try different ways to study for class"; it "reinforced the fact that learning is my responsibility"; "I no longer have to...answer, I can go easy on myself now"; and "it gave me permission to be self-

directed, permission to learn what I wanted to learn"; are key comments about LTL.

Many interviewees indicated that they had altered their teaching to incorporate some LTL practices and strategies. For instance, one respondent said that "I tried to make students aware of the concepts and think of themselves as active participants...and have them think of what it all means." Letting students "have responsibility for their own learning"; and being "more attentive to other's needs in learning" was another's reply. One college administrator offered that she encourages "faculty to develop into more effective teachers with LTL practices." According to her, taking the learning to learn course is written into some of her faculty performance reviews.

All the above comments, from the first two questions, are strong statements about how students feel about, and apply LTL. The third question is also significant, but in quite a different way.

In question three, "organizational applications," only two of the 15 interviewees offered positive responses. One discussed a required freshman class at her institution that offered learning style inventories. The other indicated her organization "emphasizes that we're not going overseas to teach, you are going overseas to learn." However, typical comments about organizational LTL were, "it doesn't happen"; "I don't think this is a priority for organizations"; and "its not an environment that it would be appreciated in"; among similar others.

The fourth question, "LTL personal applications" revealed that either in their own teaching or their personal approach to learning via the application of learning strategies, most respondents applied LTL in group discussions, journal keeping, learning styles, and focused on the need for developing a good teacher-learner dynamic. One person was "fascinated to learn that the same activities that [were] taught to masters and doctoral students worked just fine with floorworkers in a factory, regardless of their level of education."

The last question that will be examined for this report, is number five, "how has your awareness changed." Reflection, focus of perceptions about self, learning style, developing relationships and sharing with others, were repeated themes. Additionally, commentary implied that some respondents had learned to question their own motives for learning what they were learning, and why they were learning it.

Summary

Overall the results of this interview survey indicated that people learned more about themselves as learners and applied LTL concepts in their learning or teaching in a wide variety of settings. Most respondents stressed self awareness, application of learning styles and reflection as integral to learning to learn. For many, LTL is their first experience at learning and problem solving in small groups. Interview data indicates that these areas are important in the returning adult's experience in higher education for personal learning as well as useful in their roles as educators of adults. However, organizational applications of LTL were given by only two respondents, both education professionals. LTL applications essentially were not utilized by persons employed in non-educational organizations.

Conclusions

It is doubtless, as this report has shown, that many students feel themselves more competent as learners or teachers from having taken the LTL course. Among factors purported to support continued adult learning is a feeling of "mattering" (Schlossberg Chickering and Lynch 1989). Exercises such as collaborative learning, which fosters group cohesiveness, reflection on and monitoring of feelings, which assists becoming self aware, certainly involve mattering. Additionally, learning to learn claims transferability to diverse situations. Moreover, other respondents offered that the course had given them "permission" to learn what and how they wanted. A telling participant comment supports the above:

> "This course really had a big impact on me. [The instructor] was able to keep race and other stuff out of the classroom....[It has] a universal application.....I do not have a Eurocentric perspective and other classes put me in a bind....[In this class] I didn't have to worry I was Latina!...I

learned so much about me and it gave me so much freedom."

If the sole end of university based adult education is to produce competent learners—lifelong or otherwise—then learning to learn has been demonstrated as a viable method in achieving that goal. If however, the university's role in educating adult educators embraces the more noble purposes of educating and working toward change in the problems of class, race, gender or poverty, or through participatory community action, would a "technology" for learning such as LTL be appropriate? Some closing commentary from respondents may offer an answer. One said "I became aware of the need to share with people," and another "don't take responsibility for people, let them have their own responsibility...focus more on what the learner needs rather than on what [you] think they need," and finally "my estimate is that maybe 40 to 50 percent of the students had new insight (sic) for making changes." Educating for personal awareness may be the first step toward socially aware adult educators. At the very least LTL opens a door for adult learning, a requisite step toward adult thinking.

We now come to the essential point of how social transformation occurs: is it by changing individuals, or by changing structures, or by analyzing where biography intersects structure? LTL is interpreted by many as being important in personal transformations and the data in my study supports that interpretation. How LTL could be used for social transformation is a question that has not been asked. However, we know that once struggles for political power are successful there is a need to build the civil society, which means adults learning not only in groups but in organizational settings as well. What is needed is a careful analysis of how certain groups have overcome oppression and have become successful learning groups (such as study circles) when the objective is building the society. LTL may be made more oriented to social change when examined in this fashion.

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LTL Questionnaire

1. Did the LHTL lab experience change or re-enforce personal assumptions or understandings about:

   - Self-as learner
   - What learning is
   - What represents valid knowledge
   - What elementary-secondary education should emphasize as student outcomes

2. Did the LTL experience change or re-enforce ways that you:

   - Pursue graduate study
   - Carry out informal personal learning projects
   - Learn and problem solve in small groups
   - Carry out program or curriculum development activities
   - Teach and facilitate other's learning
   - Reflect on professional practice
   - Respond to major changes affecting you and for your organization

3. What are some things your organization does to help people retain or enhance their:

   - Learning strategies
   - Self awareness and understanding of self as learner
   - Respond to changing conditions, responsibilities, etc.

4. What are some ways you have incorporated LTL concepts in:

   - Your own teaching—in formal or informal settings
   - Your approach to learning or your application of learning strategies
   - Organizational training design
   - Curriculum design
   - Other personal interactions or learning experiences

5. How did the lab experience enhance or alter your awareness of:

   - Yourself as learner
   - Your learning style
   - Your motivations for learning
   - Reflection and personal motivations as learning tools
   - How you respond to new learning situations
   - Your learning in interactions with others
   - How others learn
   - How to apply LTL in personal or public settings

6. What's missing or could be improved about LTL? In other words, what would you change and how would you change it?

GOOD QUESTION! COLLABORATIVE LEARNING AND THE INTENTIONAL STANCE

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If there is an ethos in the field of adult education, it is that learners should be involved in designing and implementing their own learning experiences, that educators and learners should be partners in this enterprise, and that learners' own experiences ought to be central to the teaching-learning process. Although these are long-held beliefs, there are recent expressions of them in "new" forms of educational design. While adult education discourse remains dominated by attention to individual learning, it is beginning to include attention to such phenomena as collaborative inquiry groups (Peters, 1994; thINQ, 1994); learning organizations and organizational learning (Watkins and Marsick, 1993; Finger and Woolis, 1994); transformative learning as a collaborative process (Group for Collaborative Inquiry, 1994); collective group learning (Brooks, 1993); and collaborative (participatory) action research (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1982). Not coincidentally, literature in other fields (e.g., management and teacher education) is even more populated by these and related topics.

A theme of these topics is the process of collaboration. To collaborate means to labor together. Collaborative learning is to labor together in order to produce knowledge, and frequently, to take action on the basis of new knowledge. The knowledge produced may be both individual knowledge and collective knowledge. Knowledge produced in this way is constructed by the collaborators, as a group. Central to this process of knowledge construction is the identification, description and utilization of individual and collective knowledge which is at some point related in its construction to broader social contexts. Logically, collaborators' own experiences are central to this process, and they are obviously active co-participants in the constructions of knowledge.

Of central concern to adult education practitioners is how this process might be facilitated. They can find some help in the literature related to this topic, in the form of descriptions of localized examples and the occasional package of techniques (see, for example, Brooks and Watkins, 1994). Most of what is otherwise presented to the practitioner is at the level of conceptual process models, and these are usually adaptions of models developed elsewhere for other related purposes (e.g., the repeated use of Argyris's "model one vs. model two" concept of learning), or they are reiterations of philosophical and ideological positions drawn from the literature in such areas as popular education and participatory research. While these sources are appropriate and undoubtedly useful to a wide variety of practitioners, none of these seems to focus on the actual **experience of learning** by people who labor together in order to learn something.

This paper describes one way in which the experience of collaborative learning might be facilitated when collaborators adopt what Dennett (1983) calls an "intentional stance" toward one another. It also argues that the type of knowledge produced is in part a function of the form of questioning used by collaborators. The experience of learning is thus enhanced when collaborators are able to understand what one another already knows, and when they produce new knowledge on this ground.

Intentional Stance

In the context of collaborative learning, an intentional stance is a person's particular way of relating to another collaborator. Dennett (1983) describes it as an "attempt to characterize, predict and explain (a person's) behavior by using intentional idioms such as beliefs, and wants." One who adopts an intentional stance toward another would focus his or her attention on features of the context, or situation, that the other person attends to, in terms of how the other person perceives them. One result of this approach to the other person is an understanding of

the meaning that some focal aspect of experience has for the person. This is accomplished by obtaining a description of the person's experience and analyzing he experience in terms of the structure of his or her beliefs, wants, intentions, rules, actions, and other representations of the person's knowledge and experience. Drawing on the phenomenological concept of intentionality, Searle (1978), calls beliefs, wants, etc. "intentional states", or representations of what the person is attending to at a given time and in a particular context. Searle's "intentional states" are synonymous with Dennett's "intentional idioms", when they refer to the linguistic expressions of a person. Both Searle's and Dennett's concepts are synonymous with Coulter's (1980) concept of the "grammar of intentionality", and what Harre and Secord (1973) call "generative mechanisms". Generative mechanisms "drive" behavior via a "self-direction according to the meaning ascribed to the situation." (p.6). These are what a person is interested in if he or she seeks to understand a collaborator's experience, and specifically, when the collaborator is invited to **talk about**, or **account** for his or her experience. This is a direct way to access the collaborator's beliefs, wants, etc., especially if the account is about some action(s) undertaken in the collaborator's recent experience.

Access to a collaborator's intentions and intentional states involves getting as "pure" a description of the collaborator's experience as possible. This involves a particular type of questioning, as will be covered later. It also requires the inquirer to initially adopt a presuppositionless stance toward the collaborator. While the inquirer cannot be totally presuppositionless when interacting with another person, the point is to enter the inquiry into the collaborator's experiences as free as possible from one's own theories or conceptualizations of that experience. The difficulty here is obvious, to know and yet to set aside what one knows in order to know about another experience is a paradox. This paradox is addressed by hermeneutics.

The approach that a person takes to understanding a collaborator's experiences is essentially a hermeneutical approach. On the assumption that human action is behavior to which meaning can be attributed by virtue of the actor having beliefs, wants, desires, intentions, etc., this action can be treated as "text" that is subject to interpretation in terms of the intentionality of the collaborator. Further, the action has meaning if it is conceptually related to some context for the actor. Action is related both internally and externally to context, but it is the internal conceptual relationship that is best understood in terms of a hermeneutic explanation (not a causal explanation).

Ihde (1986) describes five hermeneutic rules that guide an intentional interpretation of a persons action(s):
(1) attend to the phenomena of experience as they appear; (2) describe , don't explain; (3) horizontalize, or equalize, all immediate phenomena; (4) seek the structural invariant features of the phenomena; and (5) correlate the poles of the intentional relation on the basis of the structural analysis. The first three rules are essentially followed in the above discussion about obtaining a presuppositionless description (suspension of one's own beliefs, etc.). The fourth rule relates to what is made of the description of the collaborator's experience. Here the purpose is to identify the collaborator's beliefs, wants, intentions, etc., and how they are related to one another from the point of view of the collaborator, in the context as perceived by the Collaborator. When a person is asked to give an account for an action-experience, he or she is invited to give the grounds for action taken. Only that person is in a position to give the ground for an intentional action (s), and it is in the form of a first-person report that a description of these actions is obtained. Moreover, the answer to a question asked in this way reflects the collaborator's own intent to be understood in a certain way, and it is this intent that is initially sought out by the inquirer.

The grounds for the action are usually cited in the form of reasons for one's actions. Together, the actions and reasons constitute a "practical argument" for the experience being described (Anscombe, 1978). Reasons, in this context, are not necessarily causes of one's actions, but are conceptually and logically related to the actions. Therefore, an account of actions and reasons given by the person provide the inquirer with a "text" which can be analyzed for themes or invariants in the person's own account. Themes would be represented by recurring beliefs, wants, etc. associated with actions in the experience of the person. The fifth rule relates to the need to relate the collaborator's

beliefs, wants, etc. to context, or what the collaborator is responding to. What needs explication here is the collaborator's own knowledge structure brought to the interaction at one "pole" and the "environmental support" that is selected by the action of the collaborator at the other pole. These poles imply each other and logically constitute the intentional relationship that is to be understood. Or, put another way, the person's intentions are understandable only within the particular context in which they are expressed.

The Role of Questions

The essential methodological implication of the above discussion is summed up by Harre and Secord (1973), who argue that if one wants to understand what a person is doing and why, "ask him." This brings out the role of the question in collaborative learning.

Language has immense power to shape human interaction, and among linguistic forms, the interrogative form is central to the force conveyed to human interaction (Goody, 1978). In terms of the intentionality of collaborative learning experiences discussed above, the role of the question in collaboration is obvious. Most inquiry into a collaborator's experiences, in search of an understanding of his or her meaning, is by way of questions. However, not all question forms are alike, and some forms are much more effective in obtaining descriptions and explanations than others.

What is it that we do when asking questions? Searle (1978) argues that questions, like other forms of communication, can encompass both "locutionary" and "illocutionary" functions. The former has "referential" meaning (or propositional content), and the latter is a "performative" function. The performative function has to do with intentions, or the results of asking a question. This is to say that the meaning of a statement can be much more than is conveyed by its overt form. An appeal to the speaker's intention and the context of the utterance, is thus essential to any interpretation of the speaker's meaning.

Searle calls a unit of linguistic communication a "speech act", and seen as an act, a question can be understood in terms of intentionality, as can other forms of human action which can be understood in terms of intentional states. "Intentional states represent objects and states of affairs in exactly the same sense that speech acts represent object and states of affairs" (Searle, 1978, p. 75). (This is not to say that intentionality is essentially linguistic, and Searle is using the analogy between speech acts and intentional states an a heuristic for explaining intentionality in the technical sense).

When questions are understood as speech acts with representations in the form of beliefs, wants, etc., the role of the questioner and his or her intent is critical in the collaborative learning experience. This focuses our attention not only on the collaborator's intentional features, but the questioner's intentional features as well. Moreover, when both are seen as collaborators who are intending to learn from their interactive experience, we have another level of intentionality of interest—the intent of the interaction, or collaboration itself. However that level of analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.

Returning to the role of questions between collaborators, two broad features of questioning can be discussed as they help locate questions in the collaborative learning experience. The first is technical, and the second is the power relationship developed in the use of questions. The technical feature relates to the types of questions asked and the mode of asking them. What linguists call the "Wh" questions assume a dominant role in this context. "Wh" questions are who, what, when, why, and where. However, among these, two have a particularly close relationship to the hermeneutical approach to inquiry described in this paper. Following Harre and Secord's admonition "Why not ask him (her)?", the two question forms are essentially, **"What** did you do?" and "**Why** did you do it?" The former focuses on a collaborator's intentional action, and the latter on the reasons, or intentional states, associated with the actions. Both are understood in the context that the collaborator attends to. Why questions intend to get at unreflected knowledge, to uncover tacit assumptions about the action in focus. Questioning of this type usually proceed iteratively, with answers to questions forming part of the context for understanding answers to subsequent questions (Peters, 1991). Both what and why questions are central to the task of obtaining a collaborator's account of the

grounds of some action experience.

The second feature relates to the power of the question. It is safe to say that, in most teacher-directed learning experiences, it is the teacher who does most of the questioning. "Since Socrates, we all know that questions are at the heart of knowledge: We ask questions of our students to help them learn, to evaluate what they have learned, to test their reasoning, and to provide a springboard for discussion (Hyman, 1982). Pollio (1990) argues that

> The person who asks a question is in a more powerful position than the person who an swers it. Perhaps the major power relation ships involving questions concern those between parents, teachers, and children...The data from a number of different studies indi cate differences in question-answer patterns between children and adults, children and children, and adults and children (p. 9)

One could easily add an "adult to adult" relationship to these difference in question patterns.

Goody (1978) examined "the relationship between the kinds of messages which questioning carries in a given society and constraints on questioning" (p. 39). Her own research and related studies implicate role expectations in the bias of questions asked.

> It is very difficult for a person in a clearly defined authority role to ask a pure informa tion question - that is, to ask a question which is perceived as being just about facts and not also about fixing responsibility or threatening control. And it is equally difficult for a person occupying a junior status to ask a pure infor mation question, because he must always attend to the possible challenge implications of his questioning. (pp. 39-40)

Goody discussed two broad functions of questions, the report function and the control function, and correctly claimed that where there is an emphasis on preserving status differences, it is difficult to separate these two functions. This puts the relationship between teacher and learner in some jeopardy, if the teacher role is seen as authority, and the learner role as a subordinate role. Even Socrates doesn't get off lightly, in Goody's view:

> Although Socrates maintains in the dialogues that he doesn't know the answer being sought, it is quite clear from the way the dialogues unfold that this is not true. The Socratic Method, in this sense of using questions to manoeuvre a student into accepting the 'correct' view, is a model of ostensibly pure information questioning which is in fact control-oriented. Socrates himself realized the hostility his method aroused, and considered that it was partly responsible for his eventual trial and sentencing to death. (p. 42)

Pollio (1990), following Dillon's (1981) research, describes questioning in the "typical" college classroom:

> The typical classroom has one person in control of the discourse of many. Typically the instructor speaks more than anyone else, and frequently in questions. Students usually speak in answers and discourse proceeds by a series of exchanges between the instructor and one or many students. Students usually do not speak to one another and rarely ask questions (and, then, primarily of the teacher). Teacher questions are not asked for the sake of discov ering information since the information is known to the teacher and sometimes to the student. When the student responds, answers typically are brief and simple, and usually require a knowledge of factual material of a conventional type. Immediately following the response, the teacher speaks again, sometimes noting the answer. For the student answering questions, the situation is tense and somewhat unpleasant, and this is particularly true where questioning is prolonged and the outcome uncertain (i. e., in a recitation). (p. 23)

It is doubtful that readers of this paper will relate to this portrayal of college teaching, since most are adult educators! However, even if this description fits some formal adult education scenarios, it sits in opposition to the characterization of collaborative learning contained in this paper. In collaborative learning, power is in principle distributed among all collaborators, including the facilitator; therefore, the role expectations and status differentials cited by Goody and others affecting the intentionality of questions should not be factors in collaborative

learning settings. If each collaborator asks questions of the others with the intent of gaining an understanding of the meaning of each other's experiences, it is clear that what has been cited as "typical" classroom questions are "out of the question." Now the intent of the question is a part of the discourse, and questions asked during a collaborative learning experience logically form a part of the collective learning experience.

Implications for Facilitation of Collaborative Learning

The first implication is that the roles of teacher/facilitator and learner need to be re-examined. In the teacher-directed formal learning experience, the teacher cannot avoid a strong authority role, and expectations associated with this role have it that the teacher is a controlling agent. A controlling agent will ask controlling questions. Controlled students will respond accordingly. In the collaborative learning environment, power is distributed equally among participants, including the facilitator, it there is one. The facilitator cannot be a controlling agent in the sense of "teacher." Moreover, the facilitator does not just facilitate. He or she collaborates. There is a difference.

A second implication of this discussion is that facilitators need to learn how to ask questions of the forms required in collaborative learning. The author's own experience in helping educators develop such question-asking skills is that nearly all of us do not naturally ask questions in these forms. We are "schooled" to ask "school questions." Not surprisingly, our natural attitude in asking questions is replete with multiple-choice questions, leading questions, fact-seeking questions, evaluative questions, and other school questions. These are very difficult habits to overcome, and rigorous training and practice in questioning skills is required if one is to overcome them.

A third implication is that collaborative learning comes in different forms, and each form implicates its own approach to facilitation. Trimbur (1993) describes three types of collaborative learning; what he refers to as the postindurialist, social constructionist, and popular democratic interpretations of collaborative learning (Hamilton, 1994). The postindustrialist model is most closely related to traditional pedagogy. Here a group solves problems formulated by an instructor whose curricular agenda determines group structure, strategies, goals, and expected answers. This is a model analogous to the corporate model of shared decision making, in that there is usually an ultimate authority, or "correct" solution, and that solution is not ordinarily in the province of the "collaborative" group. Currently fashionable in this model is "cooperative learning" activities sponsored by schools.

In the social constructionist model, students and instructor share decision making tasks concerning content, form, goals, and other aspects of learning in a classroom. The emphasis is on ways of thinking and making meaning in an area of inquiry. In Hamilton's (1994) analysis, "the challenge for instructors is to enable students to build on common and shared interests, motivations, and discipline-specific knowledge to build bridges to the new body of knowledge and ways of knowing that are particular to a specific course" (p. 95).

The popular democratic model contains most of the features of the social constructionist model. However, while the latter model is "predicated on a common investment within a shared discourse community... the popular democratic model is predicated on difference" (Hamilton, p. 95). This model operates on the basis of multicultural, multilingual features of collaborators. Says Trimbur, "If the social constructionist model assumes the classroom to be a community of like-minded individuals, the popular democratic model assumes each classroom to be a city of strangers." Each topic, each experience, is examined from the varying perspectives of collaborators. Course assumptions, values, and conventions are constantly challenged by divergent points of view.

A fourth model might be added to Trimbur's model; and it could be called the "critical mode." None of Trimbur's models intentionally provides for critique of norms that guide teaching and learning, of the organizations that constrain critical inquiry, and assumptions that guide our concept of "collaboration" itself.

The point of this implication is that each facilitator should at least locate himself/herself in the themes

that run through these types of collaborative learning situations. The category is not the point—the way a facilitator perceives collaborative learning will profoundly affect his or her role in the experience.

Conclusion

The temptation to provide a list of how-to-do-its is great, but it is the author's position that the broad implications cited above are about as close as one can get to a list, given the state of our knowledge about the dynamics of collaborative learning. However, one can identify and use techniques for developing questioning skills, especially in concert with other educators interested in developing their own questioning skills (collaborative training?). Few experiences are as unsettling and difficult for a facilitator to learn as a reflective, collaborative approach to learning. But fewer still are as satisfying.

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CORNER MEN OUT OF THE RING— WILL ADULT EDUCATION SURVIVE THE PUNCHES OF PEDAGOGICAL EDUCATION?

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Point of departure

It is often said that development in any field progresses directly towards a better and more complete system than the old one. All development, however, contains quiet and turbulent phases as well as regression. Development, in fact, happens through conflicts, as Kuhn has noted. The present crisis situation is primarily a consequence of the economic recession which has obliged the universities, too, to reassess the quality and effectiveness of their activity. Adult education (adult and continuing education in practice/adult education as a discipline) has also received its share of criticism and its resources have been cut, even though every one recognizes its importance both for society and as an academic discipline.

In my own university and department—the Department of Education of the University of Tampere—the recent cuts have been directed against the posts in adult education. The reason is that among the departmental posts, these happened to be the only ones that were not permanently filled at the time when decisions concerning the savings had to be made. The professorship in adult education together with the post of research assistant will be "frozen" for the next academic year. The "strategy task force" of the faculty is at the moment discussing the position of the chair in adult education and will decide whether the post—when someone is eventually appointed—should be filled only for a specific period of time and whether its field of teaching and research should be redefined. Abolishing the post by changing its field into something totally different would be an irreversible loss, for the post is one of the oldest in Europe, if not the oldest, to have been established for basic university level education in adult education. This happened as early as 1946.

In my presentation, I shall examine the historical stages of university level adult education in Finland, as well as the latest developments and current problems of this field.

Finnish Higher Education Policy

The Finnish higher education policy is regulated by the 1991 statute on the development of Finnish universities in the years 1991-1996. At the beginning of the development plan it is stated that "the educational system will be developed in accordance with the principle of continuing education with an emphasis on raising the level of education, renewing its contents and making it more individualized, as well as increasing the number of options" (p. 5). Among other things, the plan refers to university faculties of education by saying, "Because of the expansion of adult education, the need for experts in this field will grow." (p. 20.) The Development Act aimed at ensuring a steady development of universities for the whole designated period of time, but this did not happen. The recession which had started in the early 1990s also threatened the universities. They have had to contribute to the huge savings like any other government organizations, since the country was suffering from enormous financial difficulties and overall debt. To boost their activities, the universities adopted the strategy of management by results at the beginning of 1995. To increase the universities' effectiveness, various review groups—both domestic and international—have evaluated the different disciplines. The faculties and departments have been requested to specify their "strengths" and to improve their "profiles", and they have done this, at least to some extent. To increase competition, various "centres of excellence" in research and teaching have been rewarded with considerable sums of money.

A special feature of the Finnish higher education system is that it is quite comprehensive and covers more or less all the regions of the country. There are a total of 20 universities or institutes of higher education in Finland today, and they are located pretty evenly across the country. Eight of the universities have a faculty of education and except for one, they all also provide instruction in adult education.

Historical Background of University Based Adult Education

In 1924, Dr. Zachris Castrén, one of the founding fathers of Finnish adult education, proposed that a professorship in popular adult education should be established in one of the Finnish universities. In Great Britain, the need for adult educators had been recognized quite early. This was mentioned, for example, in the final report of the Adult Education Committee in 1919, and Castrén had carefully studied the report.

Instruction in popular adult education was started in 1929, initially with the help of a part-time teacher, in the Civic High School which had been founded in Helsinki in 1925 (it was a separate institute from the University of Helsinki). In 1930, the school was changed into the School of Social Sciences with one faculty, the Faculty of Social Sciences. At that point popular adult education established its position as an academic subject which students could choose as a major subject for their Master's degree. Castrén was the first teacher of popular adult education in the years 1929-1938.

In 1940, this first teaching position in popular adult education was changed into a full-time post and later, in 1946, into full professorship. Dr. Urpo Harva was appointed the first professor, and the first doctoral degree in adult education was conferred in 1955.

In 1960, the School of Social Sciences was transferred to Tampere, and in 1966, it was changed into the University of Tampere. The discipline which had started growing, although painfully, in connection with the University of Helsinki, now began to develop rapidly. The resources were augmented, although rather slowly. The name of the discipline was changed into adult education in 1965.
The Department of Education of the University of Helsinki started academic teaching in adult education in 1977. Professorship of adult education was established in 1980, and in the same year the line of adult education was added to the degree programme of educational administration, planning and research (EAPR, currently education). In 1987, the instruction in adult education was acknowledged as a degree programme of its own. In the corresponding Swedish language degree programme, adult education continues to be a special line in the degree programme of education.

The Department of Education of the University of Jyväskylä, students have been able to take an approbatur level qualification in adult education since the 1970s. After the university established a chair in adult education in 1994, it has been possible for students to take their Master's degree with adult education as their major subject, as well as to go on to write their dissertation in adult education.

The departments of education of some other universities have also established professorships in adult education in the 1990s, or are in the process of doing it right now. The University of Lapland, for example, established a full professorship in 1993, the University of Joensuu established an associate professorship in 1992, and the University of Turku a full professorship in 1995. Even before this, all these universities have provided some instruction in adult education in connection with courses in pedagogical education. Swedish language instruction in adult education is provided at the University of Helsinki and at Åbo Akademi. At the moment only one faculty of education in the country, namely that of the University of Oulu, provides no teaching in adult education. (See Appendix 1. Faculties of Education in Finland 1994.)

How is it possible that at the same time as the universities have had to reduce their activities and even cut some of their posts, new posts are established in some fields? There are a number of explanations.

1) Adult education is one of the few areas in education which are clearly growing. For example, in its final report the national review group which last year assessed the field of education proposed that the new teaching posts in education should go to adult education. Recommendations like this are

very quickly responded to these days.

2) University level teaching in education has a strong position in Finland. One of its special features is that teacher education has been located within universities in separate departments of their own. It is worth mentioning that in 1989, the number of associate and full professors of education in the different Nordic countries was as follows: Sweden 29, Norway 23, Denmark 11, and Finland 106. About 60 per cent of the Finnish professorships were located in the teacher education departments. (Kivinen & Rinne 1992, 57-58.) In the future, their number will increase even further, for the education of kindergarten teachers will be integrated with universities during this year.

3) In the present situation, the "surplus" of posts has been advantageous, since it has been possible to change old posts to meet the present needs.

4) Allocating the existing posts in a new way has actually been quite easy. In the 1970s all departments of education started degree programmes in educational administration, planning and research, but these are now outdated since such tasks within the general education system have diminished drastically as a result of various rationalization measures (including the merger of two national boards of education and a dramatic reduction in the number of posts). Moreover, the planning practices have changed: the trend is away from centralized planning towards decentralization. More and more decision-making happens on the local level. Adult education has offered a new specialization to the resources which were suddenly freely available. Many educational scientists had already studied adult education in connection with open university or vocational further education.

The number of present professorships (and other posts) in adult education is still considerable, compared with any field. It is also worth mentioning that the total number of adult education chairs in the Nordic countries does not amount to the number of Finnish posts (see Tuomisto 1992, 6). Consequently, university level adult education is a special characteristic of Finnish adult education. Its status in the Finnish universities is further enhanced by the continuing education centres. All the twenty Finnish universities have one. Expertise in adult education has proved valuable in developing the activities of these centres (see e.g. Parjanen 1994).

Professionalization of Adult Education

In all industrialized countries, the enormous quantitative growth of adult education activity, the expansion and specialization of its task area, as well as its higher level of requirements have greatly increased the need for professionally skilled adult educators. The logical proceeding of the development may be illustrated by the following sequence (Alanen 1980, 29):

Growth and qualitative development of adult education activity

↓

Quantitative growth and specialization of professional staff

↓

Differentiation and specification of professional requirements

↓

Basic and further education of adult educators becoming more general and improving in quality

Alanen divided the tasks of adult educators into three categories:

1) development and public administration, 2) full-time jobs in organizations which implement adult education, and 3) part-time teachers. University education naturally aims at educating professionals for the first two categories. The number of full-time adult educators is about 8,000-9,000. Only some 40 per cent of them have a university level qualification in adult education (mostly the lowest level, approbatur), which means that the majority of adult educators still lack andragogical studies. Some adult educators may have some qualifications in educational studies, though, while others have none.

Academic education, a legitimate and acknowledged

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professional status and trade unions or professional associations are generally regarded as distinctive characteristics of a profession, such as medical doctors, lawyers, clergymen, etc. (see e.g. Jarvis 1990; Collins 1919, 80-87). It seems that the professionalization of adult educators is still only in its infancy, and it is doubtful whether adult educators will ever achieve this kind of status or whether it is even desirable. The reason for this state of affairs is that universities find it difficult to monopolize their education to concern all adult educators; people in this field receive their education in very different educational organizations which may vary enormously in level and quality. Legitimization of the profession continues to be rather poor; the tasks that specifically require a degree in adult education are still few. Studies of pedagogical education are often considered to produce the same competency, even if they have not contained any courses in adult education. This is partly due to practical reasons, for there are still so few people who have majored in adult education that they are simply not enough to fill the jobs in this field. Activity through trade unions or professional associations is also quite limited and sporadic. Full-time adult educators belong to a number of different associations depending on their position and field of work. Part-time teachers usually have a full-time job which determines their membership in a union or association. Consequently, the field has not been able to establish a sufficiently clear identity or common interests. The "flexible" labour market of the future makes it even less likely that any unity or community would develop in this field. Most probably adult educators within universities and other full-time adult educators will have to be satisfied with their marginal position even in the future. Also, they have to accept that this field is full of teachers whose andragogical expertise varies enormously but with whom they will still have to be able to cooperate.

TRENDS AND PROBLEMS

Relationship with Pedagogical Education: Cohabitation, Happy Marriage or Shotgun Marriage?

The relationship between adult education and pedagogical education has been problematic for some time already. In the beginning there were no problems since there was no relationship either. Later on, after some kind of relationship had been established, problems began to emerge. In the following I shall consider this question mainly from the perspective of the University of Tampere. When popular adult education established its position as a separate subject in the Faculty of Social Sciences of the School of Social Sciences (1946-1974), it was free to develop and had good relations with the other social sciences.

When the Faculty of Education was established in 1974, the situation suddenly changed. There were efforts to force adult education to "get married" to pedagogical education. The starting point for establishing the faculty was that teacher education had been transferred to universities from previous teacher training colleges which were replaced by separate teacher education departments. The new faculty now received adult education from the social sciences and the Department of Education from the Faculty of the Humanities. Initially the idea was to move the adult education posts into this new Department of Education, which would have meant that the discipline of adult education would have lost its independent status. After an intense campaign, however, this attack could be stopped and the Department of Adult Education could continue its work as a department of its own within the Faculty of Education. At that time it became quite clear that the traditional educational scientists' (representing pedagogically oriented education) attitude towards adult education was rather unappreciative, and by no means did they want to give adult education a special status of any kind. The same attitude seems to continue -somewhat milder, though. The present relationship between adult education and pedagogical education could perhaps be characterized as a marriage of convenience.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the two departments (Education and Adult Education) were merged into one new Department of Education (in Finnish we use the plural form of Education Sciences). This was merely a marriage of convenience, an administrative measure taken for rationalization purposes and did not affect the position of the discipline of adult education as such.

People often think that adult education as a science and a discipline has been derived from either the

social sciences or education sciences. This has not been the case in Finland, however. Popular adult education in the School of Social Sciences did not stem from any other discipline, but developed as a response to the practical need for arranging systematic instruction for those working in the field. The subject later developed into an academic subject.

In this connection I am not going to make any judgements as to its character: is it a discipline or a scientific branch of its own or simply a research area of its own? (See e.g. Alanen 1978; Rubenson 1982.) It may be due to this tradition and starting point that the instruction in adult education at the University of Tampere deviates somewhat from the teaching at other universities. For example, our discipline still maintains close relations with popular adult education, while the adult educators of other universities are primarily interested in education in working life. In the other universities, adult education has been an offshoot of pedagogical education, first as a separate line of studies, and then as its own degree programme. Both models exist today. It is noteworthy that in contrast to the situation in Sweden, the relationship between adult education and teacher education has been rather distant in Finland.

The national review group which evaluated the field of education pointed out in its final report that the Department of Education of the University of Tampere should have closer cooperation with the Faculty of Social Sciences. According to some sources, the text originally implied that the department should be transferred to the Faculty of Social Sciences. The finished text, however, only mentions closer cooperation. With regard to adult education this means that we are back in a re-established relationship with our old sweetheart. Which, I wonder, is the better alternative—living in a marriage of convenience with pedagogical education or warming up our old marriage to the Faculty of Social Sciences?

Expansion Aspirations of Pedagogical Education —are Dilettantes Conquering the Scene?

When the Ministry of Education demanded the universities to reduce enrolment to the degree programmes of educational administration, planning and research (EAPR), the existing resources had to be reallocated elsewhere not to lose all of them. At this stage the departments of education suddenly showed an interest in adult education and began to market their own degree, after making some slight changes and revisions in it, as one that prepares students for adult education work. The development can be considered absurd: degree programmes which were based on pedagogical education were suddenly offering courses for future adult educators. Are dilettantes trying to conquer the markets of adult education? Those responsible for university level adult education have found this trend difficult to oppose, since they are outnumbered by pedagogical education scientists. On departmental level, the voice of adult educators was not always heard, or people simply refused to hear their opinions. There are clearly two groups among the representatives of pedagogical education. One group ignores the special character of adult education and its need for its own education. According to these people, the "general pedagogical" skills provided by pedagogically oriented education are quite sufficient for an adult educator, too. They also consider themselves as competent adult educators after giving a lecture or two on continuing education courses. The other group, in turn, is genuinely interested in adult education, they appreciate its special character and needs, and try to find further information by means of adult education literature and education. Unfortunately, the first group is clearly in the majority. One can only hope that the representatives of pedagogical education gradually learn that adult education really needs its own education and training, just like education intended for children and young people. Those pedagogical education scientists who have been working in adult education tasks for a long time are usually aware of this and seek further education in adult education.

From Degree Programme to Discipline Programme—from Bad to Worse?

The degree reform carried out in the 1970s meant moving from rather fragmented teaching programmes to degree programmes within specific disciplines. The Master's degree was stipulated as a 160 credit (minimum) programme (one credit = 40 hours of full-time studying). Originally, the degree programmes were supposed to be flexible, but in the

end they turned out to be quite rigid, allowing students hardly any leeway. Therefore these programmes were nicknamed as "tubes".

A certain subject could either constitute a degree programme of its own, or it could be a study line within a degree programme. Adult education at the University of Tampere has always been an independent subject or a degree programme of its own. In Helsinki, adult education was first a study line in the degree programme of education, but in 1987 it became a degree programme of its own. In other universities, it has been possible to study adult education either as a study line, or only on some courses in the degree programme of education.

In the 1990s, universities have tried to make their degree programmes more flexible. At the University of Tampere, we adopted a system of so-called discipline programme in 1994. The principle behind it is that students of education now have more freedom to choose between different options. We also try to convey to them the vision of lifelong learning and education, and expertise in it. The major subject in the discipline programme can be either adult education or pedagogical education. The students enroll in the discipline programme and choose their major subject only after the first year of studies. The students can choose their minor subject freely according to their interests. The goal is to educate experts who have a broad knowledge of the field of education and who can find employment in different tasks in the field, both within the general school system and the adult education system. Another goal of the discipline programme has been to make better use of the teachers' contribution in their own areas of competency.

The University of Jyväskylä has adopted more or less the same kind of ideas on the scope and flexibility of education programmes. The University of Helsinki, in contrast, still provides a degree programme in adult education, which is distinctly different from the rest of pedagogical education.

The discipline programme in education involves certain problems from the viewpoint of adult education:

1) The basic core study block in adult education, common to all adult education students, is not so solid as before. Will students of adult education, too, be dilettantes in their own field?

2) The discipline of adult education is losing some of its identity, and this is already clearly visible in both teachers and students. Adult education in Tampere used to have a very strong identity. The weaker identity results from the fact that the teaching of adult education is no longer in the hands of adult education teachers themselves, but part of the instruction is provided by pedagogical education scientists.

3) The position of graduates who have majored in adult education will probably suffer because of keener competition. It is obvious that graduates of pedagogical education will try to find employment in adult education tasks, too, while graduates of adult education will hardly seek jobs within the general school system.

The above necessarily leads to the following question: Will the discipline programme take adult education from a bad situation to a worse one? However, the present programme also offers certain advantages, including greater freedom and flexibility for students. Another positive aspect is that students of pedagogical education get a better idea of adult education and lifelong learning. In other words, the programme probably increases mutual understanding. In the long run, this may be of great significance.

Discussion and Conclusion

As is clear from the above, university level adult education has long traditions in Finland. In the first stage, adult educators were mainly trained to work in tasks related to popular adult education. In the last two decades, however, with the greatly expanded vocational adult education, the discipline has changed in character: the educational needs of working life are now taken into account, as well as the new demands they make on adult educators. Today universities try to take both of these sectors into consideration in their teaching.

In the 1990s all the departments of education in Finnish universities, with the exception of only one, established chairs in adult education together with other adult education posts. This was done despite

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the fact that at the same time the resources of universities were being drastically reduced. It has been possible to establish these new adult education posts by reallocating existing education posts. Especially pedagogical education posts which became vacant in the EAPR degree programmes have been changed into adult education positions and the degree programmes have been developed in the direction of adult education and lifelong learning. The expansion of pedagogical education scientists to the adult education sector has resulted in a situation in which there are suddenly lots of people in the field who entirely lack andragogical studies and expertise. As a result of the new discipline programme it may happen that the andragogical expertise of even those students who major in adult education will weaken, because the proportion of adult education studies in the programme has decreased and part of the instruction in adult education is provided by pedagogical education teachers who are not necessarily sufficiently familiar with adult education. Consequently, in competing for jobs in the field of adult education, graduates of pedagogical education may have an advantage compared with graduates of adult education.

The advantages of the new discipline programme are its scope and flexibility. It remains to be seen, how we shall succeed in teaching all the education students the premises of lifelong learning and education and how it will influence their thinking and work orientation. If the teaching promotes the idea that the principles of lifelong education are taken into account in the whole school and educational system of society, from children and young people to senior citizens, then perhaps the sacrifices have not been totally in vain.

On the other hand, we have to bear in mind that the new professorships have brought new strength to the field. Even though some of the professors may not initially have a strong adult education orientation, it is obvious that as holders of their chairs they will see to the interests of adult education in the future. It will take some time, of course, before the right forms and modes are discovered, but at any rate it is quite possible that such a future vision will come true. The example provided by the more established chairs in the field together with the rest of the researcher community, such as the Research Society for Adult Education, founded in 1940, will help in the situation.

The only way that adult educators can succeed in the increasingly keen competition is to do everything they can to maintain the high level of their own andragogical education and their own ability to apply this expertise in the practice of adult education.

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SOCIAL PURPOSE, CULTURAL IDENTITY, OR COMPETENCE? DANISH AND SCOTTISH PERSPECTIVES ON THE EDUCATION OF ADULT EDUCATORS

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Introduction

'All letters are dead even if written by fingers of angels and ribs of stars, all book knowledge is dead that is not unified with a corresponding life in the reader' (**Nikolay Grundtvig, *'School for Life'***)

Now what I want is Facts. Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts; nothing else will ever be of any service to them. This is the principle on which I bring up my own children and this is the principle on which I bring up these children. Stick to Facts, sir ! (**Charles Dickens, *Hard Times'***)

Adult education has always fulfilled a variety of roles, from utilitarian demands for a trained workforce which informed the Mechanics' Institutes in nineteenth century Britain to concerns for social equity and wider democratic participation which lay behind the Folk High Schools in Denmark or the Workers' Educational Association in the U.K.

Denmark and Scotland have similar populations and both countries have had a tradition of liberal and social purpose adult education alongside a strong vocational sector. Participation rates are much higher in Denmark than in Scotland. In 1992, some 1.5 million Danes took part in some form of adult education out of a population of 5 million (Ministry of Education and Research 1993). In Scotland only 20% of the adult population engage in organised learning compared with 24% for Britain as a whole. (Patrick and Schuller 1995)

In Denmark and Scotland today, major changes are taking place in higher education , mirroring changes taking place throughout Western Europe. If the underlying theme is the emergence of a mass higher education system, accompanying themes are the growth of an internal market in higher education, increasing emphasis on teaching quality, on credit accumulation and transfer, on increasing 'throughput' by shortening degree courses and on widening access by increasing the number of routes into higher education. Adult education is seen as a adjunct to these changes and resourced according to whether it increases access to non-traditional groups. Access to higher education is a critical area and highlights many of the key issues of the balancing act between education for economic efficiency and concerns for social equity and wider participation. This has important implications for the education of adult educators.

ACCESS PROGRAMMES IN DENMARK AND SCOTLAND

Denmark

The Higher Preparatory Examination (**Hojere Forberedelseseksamen**) or H.F. was introduced in 1967 by a Social Democrat government anxious to widen the social base of recruitment into higher education. Two year full-time courses were introduced into **gymnasium** (upper secondary schools) and teacher training colleges to prepare for the exam and the target group was adults hoping to enter teacher training, The exam was based on a broad, nationally-determined curriculum designed to appeal to social groups that had felt excluded from upper secondary education. In 1992, there were 14,358 full-time students (mainly aged 18-20) and 50,757 part-time students (average age 35) enrolled for HF courses in upper secondary schools and **V.U.C.s** (adult education centres) (HF 25 Ar 1992)

H.F. was based on three main principles;

a) no formal qualification or exam was required to enter.

b) it was an examination not a form of study. Although courses were provided, anyone over 18 could prepare for the exam by self-study.

c) not all students would necessarily have to have all subjects.

As **H.F.** is particularly designed for those who have had a break from full-time education, guidance and counselling are seen as an important part of all courses and subject teachers who are appointed guidance counsellors after training are allocated 30% of their time for counselling.

Scotland

University In-House Courses

In contrast to Denmark where **H.F.** was initiated centrally, Scottish access courses had strong local ,institutional and regional dimensions. Scottish universities had traditionally had close links with their local regions particularly in the West of Scotland and the North East and in common with other U.K universities had considerable autonomy on admissions. As early as 1978, the White Paper 'Higher Education into the 1990s' had predicted a decline in the number of school leavers and advocated ' positive steps ... to encourage participation by children of manual workers' and 'more systematic opportunities for recurrent education by mature students.' (DES 1978)

The 'In-house' Access courses which are now run by eight of the thirteen Scottish universities seem to originate with the 1978 White Paper . An Access course was launched at Glasgow University the following year with Dundee University following suit in 1980. These courses were part-time, usually in the field of Humanities and Social Sciences and organised by Extra-Mural or Continuing Education Departments of universities. They were restricted to adults, who did not receive financial support, unlike the full-time SWAP students who received bursaries from the local authorities.

In 1994-95, there were 1017 students enrolled on these courses. Teaching and learning methods are closer to those followed at first year degree level than is the case with SWAP and assessment is usually a mixture of examination and continuous assessment.

The Scottish Wider Access Programme

The White Paper of 1987 emphasised the importance of widening access to vocationally relevant education and identified Access as the 'third route' into higher education, the others being school leaving examinations and vocational qualifications. (DES 1987)

The Scottish Wider Access programme, launched by the Scottish Office in 1988, was based on regional consortia of further education colleges, higher education institutions and regional councils. It was designed to target designated subject areas and social groups who were under-represented in higher education. The remit was to 'promote wider access to vocationally relevant higher education' and collaboration between different sectors was made 'a pre-condition of support'. (SOED 1988) Four consortia were set up in the West of Scotland, the East of Scotland, Mid-Scotland and the North of Scotland.

In 1992-3 there were 2103 SWAP students (48% male, 52% female) enrolled in full-time courses in further education colleges, many of them aimed at a particular subject area such as nursing or primary teaching and offering a guaranteed place in higher education to those completing the course. The courses were based on nationally validated SCOTVEC modules which used specified learning outcomes and continuous assessment. (SOED 1993a)

EDUCATING THE ADULT EDUCATOR

Denmark

Considering the widespread involvement of adults in the Danish education system, surprisingly little specialised education is provided for adult educators. This may be because Grundtvig's ideas of **Folkeoplysning** or popular enlightenment with their emphasis on the 'living word' in the Danish mother tongue, on education for citizenship and on peoples'

right to decide for themselves what they want to learn have been influential across the education system. The same tradition leads to distrust of the 'specialist' and puts emphasis on self-education and the absence of a traditional teacher-pupil relationship in adult education. (Hauser 1991) The Act on Formal Adult Education of 1989 states that for teachers 'As in the **Folkeoplysning** there are no formal requirements as to teacher qualifications. A teacher might have a degree from a teachers' training college, but equally relevant would be experience in the labour market, at university, a degree in engineering etc. The main thing is that they like teaching adults and do it well.' (Ministry of Culture 1989)

Teacher training colleges offer four year courses to train teachers for the **Folkeskole**, the comprehensive schools from 7-16. Some of the teachers in the **V.U.C.s** (adult education centres) and Folk High Schools come from this background and specialised subjects in adult education have been introduced into teacher training. Teachers in the **gymnasium** or upper secondary school and those teaching **H.F.** in the adult education centres must be graduates who have taken a short (five months) postgraduate course in educational theory and practice. For the large numbers of part-time teachers in adult education, there are eight Centres for teachers in adult education (**Voksenpaedagogiske - V.P.C.**) which offer short courses on content, methodology and theory. (Hauser 1991 and Ministry of Education and Research 1992)

Scotland

In Scotland, two universities (Edinburgh and Glasgow) have offered specialised postgraduates courses in Continuing or Community Education whilst three others (Aberdeen, Dundee and Stirling) offer adult education options within general M.Ed programmes. Significantly, the Edinburgh course in Community Education is being run down as it did not meet the approval of validation bodies for community education which were looking for evidence of work-based competence in training programmes.

The abolition of the binary line has meant that most of the former colleges of education are now Faculties or Institutes of Education within universities. This means that most initial and postgraduates training for community education (informal and community - based adult learning) now comes within the university sector. Moray House Institute (Edinburgh) has become part of Heriot -Watt University and Jordanhill College (Glasgow) part of Strathclyde University. Jordanhill College/Strathclyde University also houses the Scottish School of Further Education which provides training for further education college staff and as such is responsible for most full-time access staff.

As a result of these changes, the university sector in Scotland now runs education and training programmes for (mainly full-time) staff working with adults in very different educational settings and with different educational assumptions behind the courses. The 'old' universities usually developed postgraduates courses out of expertise and interests built up in Departments of Extra-Mural Studies or in Departments of Educational Studies. These courses , mainly concerned with the academic study of the education of adults, have been targeted at organising staff within education authorities and voluntary organisations, teachers in further education, industrial trainers, nurse tutors etc. They are based on a tradition of critical learning and reflection in contrast to the increasingly competence-based learning structures in further education.

Community education courses within the former colleges of education have been designed primarily for organisers and community workers within the community education service run by the regional councils and similar staff employed by voluntary organisations. Competence-based training is increasingly seen as having a role to play in this area, particularly with regard to the work-experience parts of the course.

This is even more true of the further education training sector. The further education colleges, formerly controlled by Regional Councils, are now directly funded by the Scottish Office and explicitly employer-led. Many courses in the colleges are competence-based SCOTVEC modules and it has been recommended that training for further education teachers 'should have a rigorous competency framework' laid down to national standards. (SOED 1993b)

CHANGING PROVISION

Denmark

Significant moves towards competence-based education for adults have taken place in Denmark in recent years with the development of formal adult education courses (**A.V.U.**) in general subjects which are run in the same adult education centres as the **H.F.** courses. These courses which enrol some 50,000 adults a year are at a lower level than **H.F.** and are seen by employers and trade unions as more flexible and more suitable for those who have left formal education at the minimum age. Nonetheless the **A.V.U.** Act of 1989 speaks of education 'for taking an active part in the life of the community and for understanding and influencing their own life situation' as well as leading to further training. (Ministry of Culture 1993) Although **H.F.** has been criticised as being less flexible, it has continued to grow and to provide a major route into higher education particularly the shorter more vocationally based courses in the non-university sector. Similarly, the whole area of voluntary adult education which is such a distinctive feature of Danish provision continues to be a major player although subject to the usual restraints on public spending.

Danish policy on higher education emphasises the importance of diversity—both horizontal and vertical. Horizontal diversity refers to the existence of different types of higher education institutions and courses and the need to safeguard research has been seen as a positive reason to maintain the binary line. Vertical diversity refers to an increase in courses of different lengths with different exit points—the introduction of a three year Bachelors' degree course is an important innovation here. (Rasmussen 1992)

Scotland

The changes afoot in adult education provision in Scotland are more radical and driven by much more openly utilitarian agendas than in Denmark. Increasing centralisation has seen the further education colleges removed from local authority control and placed under the Scottish Office and the higher education sector funded for the first time entirely from Edinburgh by the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council. A major reform of local government in Scotland is currently in train which will see the abolition of the Regions and their replacement by smaller unitary authorities. The disappearance of Strathclyde Region , Scotland's largest region with a population of 2.5 million has particular implications for access as it has played an innovative role (similar to that of ILEA for England) in educational policies to combat social deprivation, to develop provision for adults in schools and to create regional links between further and higher education. It is also feared that the informal adult education provided by the community education service will be weakened by the move to smaller less well-resourced authorities.

Accompanying this has been the development of a national system of credit accumulation and transfer—SCOTVEC (Scottish Vocational Education Council) certificates at further education level and SCOTCAT (Scottish Credit Accumulation and Transfer) at higher education level. SCOTVEC is based on 40 hour modules involving criterion referenced assessment with course descriptors specifying learning outcomes, methods of assessment and content. This type of competence-based practice is increasingly influencing the more informal sector.

One of the effects of these changes has been growing convergence between continuing education in higher education and 'mainstream' higher education. (Gerver 1992) Larger numbers of older students in full-time higher education and increasing numbers of part-time and short-term contract staff teaching on undergraduate courses are giving more of a continuing education profile to full-time higher education. The distinctive liberal adult education provision which universities have made since the 1920s is being 'mainstreamed' conditional on the development of systems of accreditation and assessment which will change its entire character and which are tied into the SCOTCAT framework of credit accumulation and transfer.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE EDUCATION OF ADULT EDUCATORS

The diversity of adult education activities has always presented problems for those concerned with the education and training of full and part-time staff. The

effects of 'mainstreaming ' and convergence may be to call in question the distinctive nature of adult education in Scotland if not in Denmark. Traditions of student-centered learning, of flexibility and local responsiveness which are claimed for liberal adult education in Scotland may be more difficult to sustain under a national system tied into units of credit which articulate both with the systems of the parent institution and with the wider national picture. The implication may be that adult education training itself moves from the margins to the mainstream and becomes part of the staff development programmes of universities and colleges with greater concentration on the needs of part-time staff.

Parker and Davies (1994), amongst others, have identified issues that need to be considered in the future of professional education in general. These include :

- the need to continue to update knowledge
- the need to understand and use effectively finance, marketing and management practices as well as the new technology
- the development of interpersonal skills to work in groups and teams
- the development of knowledge of quality assurance and control
- the development of systems of mutual recognition and mobility
- the ability to deal with the demands of 'increasingly highly educated and well informed client/student groups'

This growing emphasis on professionalisation should not be allowed to obscure the merits of the alternative approach. Some years ago Law (1988) argued that McCarthyism had led U.S. adult educators to retreat from more radical agendas into 'specialisation'. The ideas of the New Right with their emphasis on the needs of the economy, on competencies and internal markets in education have had a similar effect. The Danish experience offers a counterbalance as **Folkeoplysning** lays emphasis on the education of all the people, not just the 'highly educated and well informed'. This is why guidance and counselling plays such a key role in Danish **H.F.** programmes and why any education and training programme for adult educators should take account of the importance of this area.

Another Danish lesson of continuing importance is the emphasis on the local community and on the voluntary principle. Education for citizenship is still an active principle in Denmark , witness the widespread consultation exercise leading up to the referendum on the Maastricht Treaty. The growth of utilitarian, competence-led training which is dominant in Scotland and throughout the U.K. at the moment should not be allowed to obscure completely the alternative tradition of critical, open-ended learning.

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LA FONCTION DE L'UNIVERSITÉ EN FORMATION DE FORMATEURS: LE CAS DE LA SUISSE FRANCOPHONE

RESUME

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Questions traitées:

-L'université assure-t-elle une fonction spécifique par rapport aux autres institutions (le plus souvent privées) qui offrent une formation continue?

-L'université donne-t-elle une meilleure crédibilité aux professionnels qui suivent les cours de formation continue qu'elle offre?

-Quelles attentes les formateurs d'adultes ont-ils en matière de perfectionnement face à l'universiteé?

Université et formation continue, contexte suisse

Les universités suisses n'ont pas une longue pratique institutionnalisée de la formation continue. En 1990, le gouvernement central de la Confédération helvétique, dans le cadre de son programme d'"Offensive pour le perfectionnement," a fourni aux cantons (états) possédant une universiteé, des moyens financiers (135 millions de francs suisses pour une période de 6 ans) pour mettre en place une formation continue (infrastructure et cours).

Enjeu de taille, puisqu'il s'agit, avant la fin de 1996, terme du projet:

a) de rendre la formation continue crédible auprès des usagers potentiels (des professionnels provenant des différents secteurs du monde du travail);

b) de la faire accepter par les professeurs d'université eux-mêmes comme une priorité, si possible au même titre que la formation de base et la recherche;

c) de trouver des propres sources de financement pour pouvoir, dès la fin de 1996, s'autofinancer, afin de ne pas émarger au budget habituel de l'université.

Premiers constats: Les offres de cours de formation continue proposées par l'université sont, dan l'ensemble, bien accueillies par les différents publics-cibles concernés. Toutefois, l'université a besoin de plus de temps pour faire accepter, en son sein, une telle nouveauté. Les moyens mis à disposition ne permettent pas de décharger les professeurs d'une partie de leurs tâches ordinaires. La plupart d'entre eux n'ont donc pas suffisamment de temps pour développer de nouveaux cours et modules destinés à ce public-là.

Les formateurs d'adultes et l'Université

Dans le cadre des offres de formation continue des universités, différents modules sont proposés aux formateurs d'adultes (ceux notamment des universités de Genève et de Fribourg).

La question développée ici est celle de savoir si ces formations ont une réelle spécificité (et de quelle nature) par rapport à d'autres offres de perfectionnement émanant d'institutions non-universitaires et destinées au même public.

Les formateurs d'adultes qui s'inscrivent à ces modules de formation continue ont, pour la majorité d'entre eux, un parcours de formation initiale non conventionnel. Dans la plupart des cas, ils n'ont reçu aucune formation universitaire de base dans le domaine des sciences sociales, ni plus spécifiquement dans le domaine de l'éducation.

Leur demande est donc en premier lieu d'ordre instrumental (acquéir de nouveaux outils didactiques, de gestion et d'analyse des besoins, d'animation, d'évaluation, etc.). Ils souhaitent d'autre part pouvoir **échanger sur leur pratique professionnelle** et sur les problèmes auxquels ils sont confrontés. C'est sur ce dernier aspect que l'université peut apporter une formation original et c'est bien là, à notre avis, qu'elle doit mettre l'accent, laissant à d'autres institutions de formation l'aspect plus élémentaire, moins fondamental, de l'acquisition d'outils didactiques, notamment.

En situation de perfectionnement, la qualification s'acquiert aussi, voire surtout par l'analyse des expériences professionnelles acquises et vécues. En favorisant une telle approche, l'université peut ainsi apporter aux formateurs d'adultes issus des différents milieux (entreprises, domaine socio-culturel, santé, etc.) une formation originale qui a pour principale fonction d'être **critique**. Elle crée ainsi un espace de discussion privilégié où des acteurs de la formation d'adultes peuvent **prendre du recul** face à leur pratique et travailler la question **du sens** des actions de formation qu'ils mènent au quotidien.

A l'issue de la formation suivie, les formateurs d'adultes en perfectionnement à l'université auront ainsi eu l'occasion d'améliorer leur degré de **professionalité** et de préciser leur propre **identité professionnelle**.

A notre avis, ce n'est pas le rôle de l'université que de se placer en éventuelle concurrence avec d'autres sur le marché de la formation des formateurs et d'attirer ses "clients" potentiels par un choix de diplômes, de certifications dont l'importance nous paraît secondaire. Sa mission prioritaire est bien d'être une **source de clarification et de référence**, tant sur le plan épistémologique. Cette fonction qu'elle doit remplir ne s'adresse d'ailleurs pas qu'aux seuls formateurs d'adultes, mais bien à tout professionnel en perfectionnement.

SECTION IV

Participatory Connections

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CANMORE

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER FROM A "FEMINIST" PROSPECTIVE

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Let me preface this paper with an explanation of what I mean by putting quotation marks around the word "feminist." I am a farmer's daughter and I think almost everyone knows how independently farmers live and think. Influenced by an agricultural background filled with independent characters, I started asking questions at an early age. Once my significant others could no longer answer the questions, I was labeled "different." I learned that **different**, when used as a label for a person, is not particularly good. We live by our labels, yet labels are one result of the social construction of gender, race, class, sexual preference. Human beings are categorized into groups with expected behavior and beliefs. That is why I am not comfortable assuming any socially constructed label, whether it is that of "feminist" or "different."

In this paper, I will discuss the social construction of gender. I will briefly discuss how it came about, how it influences adult education today, and make some suggestions about how to change it in the future.

Historians have all but ignored the social constructions of any outcast or marginalized population. Women as "Other," are either invisible or referred to as mothers and wives. Women appear in patriarchal discourse on race as patient opponents of slavery, but not as "slaves" themselves. Even Simone de Beauvoir wrote that women have no important historic moments in the history of humanity.

My initial research led me to deconstruct (however unwillingly) Simone de Beauvoir's writings. I have been studying her book, *The Second Sex*, as the feminist bible of pure truth. Women's history should bring about profound changes in consciousness and I believe her writing did that; however, "the theoretical work of modern feminism . . . has been ahistorical and negligent of feminist historical scholarship." (Lerner, 1986, p.3). The traditionalist argument has been the most popular theory.

Simone de Beauvoir accepted this theory that takes as a given that man's superiority and "transcendence" derives from "hunting and warfare and the use of tools necessary for these pursuits." (Lerner, 1986, p. 17). This theory has governed the social construction of gender for half a century.

> But this relation is to be distinguished from the relation of subjugation because women also aspire to and recognize the values that are concretely attained by the male. He it is who opens up the future to which she also reaches out . . .
> (de Beauvoir, 1952, p. 65)

Without being aware of it, I believe that de Beauvoir bought into consensus theory. This is the belief that society could not exist without its members sharing common beliefs, values and perceptions. She viewed inequality as inevitable, necessary and beneficial "for man to reproduce himself." Sexual classification, or labeling, seems to be an expression of the values of that society and she blamed women for having no value system or history of their own. She maintained that women remained close to their bodies in maternity, like an animal, while man transcended with the invention of the tool.

Gerda Lerner writes that this denial of history has reinforced women's "acceptance of the ideology of patriarchy and has undermined the individual woman's sense of self-worth." (Lerner, 1986, p. 223). De Beauvoir based her understanding of self on ethnographic evidence in speculating that it was an early division of labor from which the inequality between the sexes began. This division of labor doomed women to "immanence." They were

doomed forever to the pursuit of daily, never-ending repetitious toil as opposed to the exciting exploits of men. These male exploits led him to "transcendence" (Lerner, 1986, p. 43). The social construction of gender was perpetuated by the very women who sought to change it.

A set of new socially constructed labels and beliefs about behavior, gender and knowledge came out of the social and political upheaval of the 1960s and 70s. The "new" movements were characterized by the civil rights movement, the peace movement and the women's movement. What people fail to realize is that these "new" sixties movements were not new; they had been a continual movement for centuries. These three movements have been raising critical questions as to the institutionalized values by questioning the socially accepted belief system. The issue of who holds the power to write the history books determines what is remembered from generation to generation. Each generation thinks it is the first to be labeled as such.

Florence Howe contends that among academe's few basic doctrines, one rules supreme: It is easier to add-on than to change. It is easier to add something new than to change something "worn or worn out." In this case, the "worn out" thing is the instituted ideology that does not work. Howe writes that the response to the woman's movement was to add such items as Women's Studies programs, women's resource centers, the women's drop-in centers, continuing education programs for women, programs for re-entry women, and rape crisis centers.

Sexism operates on all levels of society in all institutions. Key to this idea is the belief that sexism governs the way many women see **themselves**. Sexism becomes so deeply internalized in women that we become "detached from our own talents and strengths." (Hymowitz and Weisman, p. 347). Characteristics viewed as socially acceptable in men, such as aggressiveness and confidence, were not socially acceptable in women in the 1700's, and the 1800's. They were not accepted in the 1960's and still are not today, even by many women. (Hymowitz and Weisman, p. 347)

Radical feminists split from the American leftists because feminism was their priority. They challenged the moderate goals of the women's rights movement. They felt that gaining the vote was not enough. The most important insight of radical feminists was that "the personal is the political." (Hymowitz and Weisman, p. 350). This was the idea that women were a class linked together by their sex regardless of age, race, social status, education, race, life style. All women were subject to sexism.

I believe that the radical feminist movement did not attain all of its goals. It did not cause major change in the economic status of women. Although some social and professional barriers have been broken, the distribution of income is still about the same. More women joined the workforce, but the data show this trend was out of necessity. It is no longer economically feasible to remain at home whether married or single, with children or not. For the most part, these women have taken lower paying and lower status positions. The gap between the earnings of men and women has increased instead of decreased in the last forty years. Northern Illinois University economist Stephen Nord reports:

> ...in 1980, women were making 57.8 percent of males' salaries; by 1990, they were making 65.6 percent . . . Salaries of women working in traditional male occupations were 19 percent to 47 percent less than their male counterparts.

Anthropologist Claude Levi-Strass wrote many years ago that the exchange of women was the leading cause of the subordination of women. It was a phenomenon observed in tribal societies all over the world. Bride stealing, ritual defloration, and negotiated marriages were all preceded by taboos on endogamy and by the "indoctrination of women." (Lerner, 1986, p. 47) Women were socialized to accept their obligation to their kin to consent to such enforced marriages. Women were dehumanized and objectified.

A key assumption of all strands of feminism is that gender is socially constructed. Feminism benefits from the androcentrism of Marxist theory through exposure to the influential, well-developed body of social theory that still dominates revolutionary dialogue. But we as feminists must remain aware of the need to topple the intellectual ground under our feet. Lather warns that women have to be careful not to become the "good wives" of Marxist patriarchy.

Giroux wrote that the single achievement of neo-Marxist resistance theories is the primary importance they assign to "critical theory and human agency as the basic categories to be used in analyzing the daily experiences that constitute the internal workings of the school." (Giroux, p. 283) He states the following four weaknesses of theories of resistance studies: (1) failure to account for the notion of patriarchy as a mode of domination that cuts across various social sites and mediates between men and women within and between different class formation. (2) they contain no theoretical room for exploring forms of resistance that are race- and gender-specific, particularly as these mediate the sexual and social divisions of labor in various social sites such as schools. (3) the theories focus on overt acts of rebellion and ignore less obvious forms of resistance among students and have often misconstrued the political value of overt resistance. (4) not enough attention is given to the issue of how domination reaches into the structure of personality itself (Giroux, p. 287-288). Neo-Marxists must transcend its lack of praxis, its theoreticism, its weakness rooted in its "longstanding complaint regarding the continuing absence of a movement capable of advancing alternatives." (Genovese, p. 102).

It is my opinion that simply warning women not to become good wives" of neo-Marxist patriarchy is not enough. I think that Lather should have taken her research further by borrowing from Gramsci that "organic intellectuals" rise from the ranks of teachers to enlighten students (and each other) on the benefits of critical thinking and reflection. My appraisal of Lather is while she is very detailed in pointing out problems with using neo-Marxist theory for the feminist analyses, she does not offer any concrete solutions.

A key assumption of Patti Lather's materialist-feminist context is that gender is a social construction (Lather, p. 248). What gender is, what men and women are, and what types of relations they have, are not only the result of biology, but the consequence of social and cultural constraints. Symbolic and ideological dimensions of culture play especially important roles in "creating, reproducing, and transforming" gender.

> ...feminism argues the centrality of gender in the shaping of our consciousness, skills and institutions as well as the distribution of power and privilege. (Lather, p. 242)

Lather claims that she is a materialist-feminist. Forms of oppression are not reducible to the demands of capitalism. In a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, D.C., in April 1987, Lather defines "material-feminism" as being:

> . . . **Materialist** in its commitment to the view that the social and economic circumstances . . . of human identity are socially constructed . . . *feminist* in its emphasis on the social construction of gender and its exploration of the intersections of gender with other social categories like class, race and sexual identity . . . (Lather, 1987, p.23)

A materialist-feminist refuses to reduce Marxism solely to an analysis of capital. It insists that historical materialism can shed much light on the oppression of women and that Marxism would benefit from a focus on the interactive reciprocity and interweaving of the needs of patriarchy and capital. Feminism argues for Marxism to recognize that revolutionary constituencies shift with historical circumstances. Women's struggle is made invisible by economic reductionism and Marxism loses touch with the potential that feminism offers for social transformation. Marxism, in the current historical moment, must address issues such as gender, racism, ageism.

Gerda Lerner warns that these hypotheses "all suffer from the tendency to seek single-cause explanations." She maintains there is no causal connection. (Lerner, 1986, p. 47) Lerner defines **patriarchy** as:

> . . . the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women . . . in the family and . . . in society in general. It implies that men hold power in all the important institutions of society and that women are deprived of access to such power . . . (Lerner, 1986, p. 239)

Much work still needs to be done to move toward an egalitarian global society. One important way that I can see for women to climb out of their assigned secondary place is through adult education. We need to educate ourselves, each other and the male

population to be able to assume equality on the same plane of intellect and profession.

In these concluding remarks, I am left with more questions then answers. The work associated with constructing a new social construction of gender goes well beyond describing today's constructs. It goes beyond discovering and learning women's history. It goes beyond reinterpreting what anthropologists, sociologists, educators and historians have taught us.

According to Soren Kierkegaard, attaining a truly egalitarian society means dealing with biases and prejudices in the name of progress not only for women, but for humanity. Human existence includes the capacity to separate oneself consciously from all else, but also the requirement that contact be maintained with the "other." (Mullen, p. 63). We must have the strength to face our own limitations and biases to reconstruct ourselves, not only as women, but as one half of humanity. There are some existential problems involved with "demand courage to reconstitute one's self." Existential problems are problems of the human spirit, and while they are treated as "merely emotional" the human spirit is denigrated. (Mullen, p. 53)

In conclusion, we must not "flee from the crowd or become part of the crowd, thus fleeing from" ourselves. That is why I do not feel comfortable with the label "feminist." I believe the term "feminist" is misused, often as a negative term, by mainstream ideology. I believe "feminism" connotates a separate ideological culture within our society, another fragmentation of society. To combat my newly acquired label of "Eurocentric feminist," I am beginning to research women of color feminist theories. The more I research their issues, the more I begin to hear their voices. While I do not pretend to speak to their concerns, I believe that it is essential for women of all color to transcend ignorance so that we can work together.

Instead of alienating the "other half" of society, we feminists must learn to co-exist with that other half. We must not fragment our society with labels perpetuating prejudice and ignorance lest we will surely lose sight of our social identity.

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ORGANIC INTELLECTUALS: DEFINITELY NOT 'POSTMODERN'

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The philosophy of modernity, as the overriding worldview of Western society, has been criticized by feminists, aboriginal people, postmodernists and others. Much of these critiques has focused upon aspects of modernity such as technical rationalism, reductionism, and objectivism.

Feminist and aboriginal critiques censure the breach of relationship inherent in much of Western scientific thinking which separates the actions of people and the results of their actions. The result is denial of responsibility, a denial that ultimately supports oppression. Sketched roughly, feminism values instead, emotional bonds and contexts in the process of creating knowledge for combating patriarchy. Aboriginal world views would bring in spiritual connections and concepts of healing and wholeness to combat colonization. For both, oppression is seen as systematic destruction of people's ability to be self-governing as a people. The objectifying and atomizing effects of modern philosophy in action are opposed because they prevent a just and self-governing community from developing.

Postmodern critics such as Lyotard, for example, focus on the "totalizing" effects of modernity. Grand theories, or meta-narratives, tend to assume a homogeneity of human experience, according to this kind of critique. Awareness of difference, Otherness, and identity is promoted to counteract this tendency. However, I see this current of postmodernism as an aspect of modernity that exemplifies and accentuates the detachment aspect of Western patriarchal "objective" world view. According to Lyotard, theory in the academic sphere, and community in the world of everyday life, are seen as totalizing, and therefore are forms of oppression. "Postmodern" freedom from oppression is promoted in the ideal arrangement of detached individuals, strangers living in relations of mediation rather than in community. This reductionist approach to the question of liberty is in a direct line from Descartes et al.

In this essay I would like to emphasize that modernity also contains streams of thought that focus upon connection and relationship. This has often been unrecognized by the writers themselves. They see their assumptions about social life not as problematic, but rather natural and necessary. When writers such as Marx, Gramsci, Michael Polanyi, and others articulate the importance of relationships among people in the creation of knowledge and of history, their refusal of the objectivist, reductionist current of modern philosophy does not seem to be recognized as such in the scholarly community. In light of the popularity of postmodern deconstructionism, this aspect of modern theory gains significance.

Can we bring out this "modernity of relationship" to counteract the fragmenting effects of postmodernism as well as the totalizing effects of mainstream modernism? Some of the writers who are doing this include Anne Bishop, bell hooks, and Cornel West.

How can we emphasize relatedness in the field of adult education, particularly in the education of adult educators? I think this is possible by viewing ourselves as organic intellectuals—linked with and part of a community of people who work within and outside of the university and who struggle for social change. The key difference between Gramsci's "traditional intellectual" and his "organic intellectual" is that of detachment from versus solidarity with one's social group. Adult education in the university connects people through involvement in struggles. Otherwise it maintains the traditional "neutral" stance which supports the status quo.

As organic intellectuals of resistance, we put theory and practice together in the form of our own historical

agency. We create organizations whose structures are pedagogical. In these structures, these constellations of practice, the possibility of critical action comes into being. These become locations of insurgent self-government.

If we are willing to accept and adapt to the increasingly elitist, business-oriented, technological role of adult education, there is no need for self-government. Yet there are many places for resistance within the University. There is a role to play in shaping the agenda of our departments: in creating and defending spaces where critical consciousness can emerge and in becoming active in the academic world of the university, the city, the province and society at large to which the university belongs.

I include examples of this kind of engagement at the University of Saskatchewan. Some of the adult education graduate students and faculty have been involved with resistance to backlash against feminism. Women successfully organized to defend the threatened feminist faculty position in our College. Its elimination would have resulted in a college of education (70 percent female enrolment) with no feminist course offerings. Protection of the position means new teachers in the province will be able to experience explicitly feminist pedagogy during their own training.

There is also the struggle to bring Aboriginal knowledge into the University with integrity. The issue of class size and course load for aboriginal faculty has been made problematic in terms of pedagogical practice. Very large class size inhibits the emergence of the kind of teacher-student relationships that are consistent with aboriginal epistemology. Decolonization requires that aboriginal faculty must at least have self-government over these kinds of factors in teaching their courses.

There has also been a resistance against the kind of elitism that threatens access to the University via high tuition fees. In November 1994, the Canadian government proposed a three-fold increase in tuition in lieu of maintaining grants to the universities. In effect, the proposal shifts national debt from the government to low- and middle-income post-secondary students who rely upon student loans. Students and faculty in Adult Education worked to put this proposal in political, historical and international context.

By confronting power structures one learns through engagement with them. To take on actions of resistance is a far more powerful way of coming to critical consciousness than simply reading about action. The organization created in the course of political action creates a space where new knowledge about the world emerges. There can be a dialectical relationship between the ideas learned in course work and those learned in political work, as well as in the practice of teaching and writing and the actions taken on for political purposes.

We have a lot to resist from our position in the universities. With relentless funding cutbacks we are thrown into situations where we are vulnerable to divide and rule tactics, competing with others for funding, jobs and grants. We also have to confront the effects of support from corporations who only fund certain kinds of research, often acquiring patent rights to the "intellectual property" which results.

The funding squeeze makes corporate support attractive to university administrations. While education and health funding is cut, with the concomitant loss in teaching, nursing, and related jobs, Saskatchewan is leading North America in biotechnology research, the intellectual groundwork for the commodification of DNA. The beneficiaries of this research are private companies such as Monsanto and Cargill. Saskatchewan is also embedded in the nuclear economy via large corporations such as Cogema, Cameco, Uranertz. Cameco has recently inaugurated two lavishly funded and highly publicized research chairs at the University of Saskatchewan. Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL) is also very active promoting a research agenda for nuclear waste disposal and small scale nuclear reactor development. The provincial government encourages this kind of research in the name of economic development at the expense of "soft" research such as wind power generation, organic agriculture, small scale technologies, and intensive silviculture.

Privileged though we are as people working in the university, we are not the power elite. Our positions are really quite tentative. Most of us would not be able to work in the university as it is presently

constituted if it was not for our forebears' efforts and sacrifices in political action. Some of what they aimed for and achieved has been co-opted by the corporate sector.

As educators, we also have the "struggle of memory against forgetting." We need to maintain an active relationship to our histories in order to prevent co-optation. This can also be done through university Adult Education by studying local adult education history and placing our work in historical context.

We can create modern stories of progress, truth, and justice which are based in relationship—ideals whose meanings are constantly reviewed and revised through analyses which stem from feminism, aboriginal ways of knowing, and other critical sources. With a philosophy of relationship and a practice of political struggle we can resist the corporate agenda with both the aim and the effect of increasing critical consciousness and enlarging the space for the practice of self-government.

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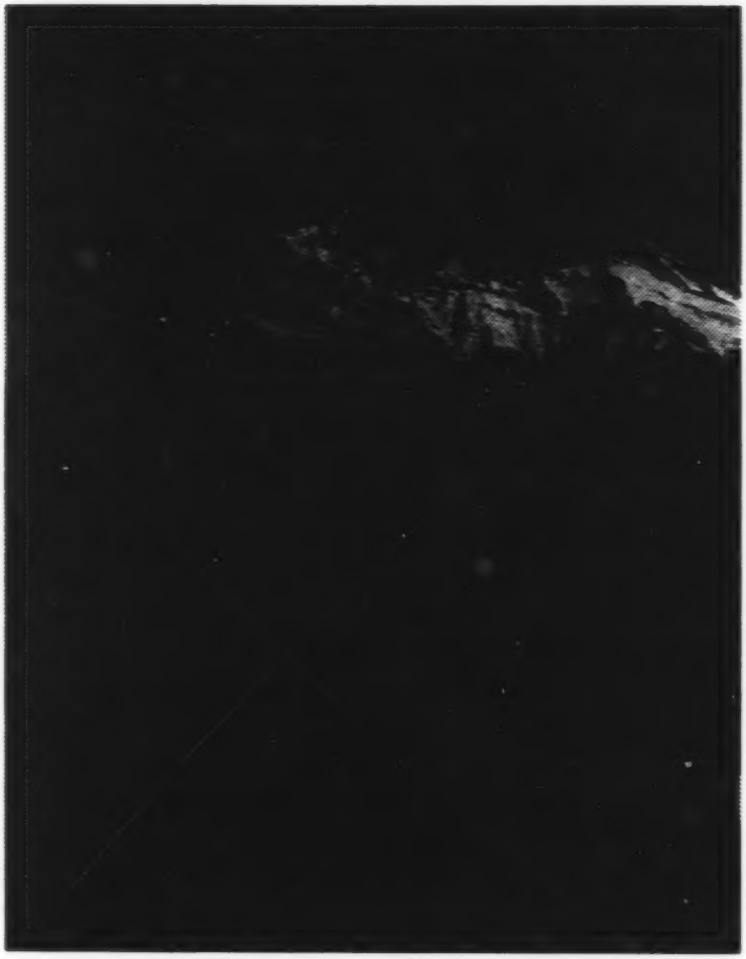

Reflections

LIKE MOSES AT CANMORE

by Peter Willis

Reflections on the Canadian International Conference on University Education of Adult Educators held at Canmore in the Rockies, May 1995.

Motel, rain and mist still,
the crowded mini bus takes us, climbs
to the alpine meeting place. Warm
breakfast, bulky figures, caps and
jackets, greetings and introductions.
Old friends re-imagine each other on
the Rockies plateau.

In the meeting room, dark edged
glass panes cut the mountains'
upward sweep; frame foothills and
middle slopes; pull people outside to
find their edges, peaks in the clouds.

Voices calling to business-work: to focus
on our time-locked passing worlds
under timeless mountains. Cluster
to attend the speaker hearing academic
detachment name the changing world

and frame the new as 'given': a new
life condition like changes in climate
with new chemistry; new rules to be
comprehended, worked with accepted,
maximised. Did they really think

those old war horses and their
younger mates with but one foot in the groves
of academe and the other somewhere else:
market place, hospital, pub, church or footy ground
would buy that without a yell. There's

angry responses: passion, fire born
of losses,wounds already suffered.
Voices challenge; call the scholar's
detachment *colluding with the
enemy*. Reclaims the educator's engaged
calling: not detached, not surveying,
measuring an objectivised world: messing,

changing and changed by it. Detachment
smells of the quisling, the collaborator. We
are critics, activists, singers, poets not servants
of rational economics not developers
of our friends, neighbours, enemies
renamed *human resources*.

The second voices name the lifelong
learning road as struggle for depth and
inclusivity in modern times: to marry
productivity with humanity, freedom with
virtue, community with tolerance. Resisting
lest adult education become reduced
to instructing, or shaping and sanitising
humans as value adding objects.

Is this the sound of Don Quixote? Are
these angry voices romantic and soft headed
cavaliers anachronistically rejecting as technicist
roundheads, adult education's new breed. They
can't be the only ones to celebrate, protect human
soul and freedom, human choice; to resist
rationalistic pressures turning adult
educator from teacher to trainer; from
tentative mentor to didactic know all; from
poet to performance assessor.

Seminars turned battlefields aren't settled
in amicable coffee and strolls on mountain
trails. Deeper angst than academic
disagreement fuels this separation. And now

another cleavage between romance and
reality: listening as the dinner speaker names a
sense of place as *vista*, celebrates the grandeur
of his mountain homeland contemplated. A
challenge; new insight for activist adult educators
conjuring with familiar, historical sense, another
sense of place not shaped by what is seen but

what is done; linked more to valleys than peaks,
constructed more by remembrance of vernacular
life: work, industry, community, family; and its
artefacts: buildings, tools, gardens, fences,
placemarks of adult education's commons:
conversation, work,critique, struggle, creativity, play.

The night's conviviality lightens the air,
consolidates ambiguous community formed in
the engagements and discussions, fights
and laughter with our history, losses,
achievements and texts. We work to find
common ground, clear vision to conjure with
in the wind of hard times, tentative lest in
mourning one loss we miss
other suns rising.

In the second morning's snow light, the bus
climbs for the second day. Discussions more
developed, arguments less absolute, even
qualified. Texture and multiplex notions merge
to project plans finalised as we board the
trail ride bus for a ranch night in the Rockies;
somnolent horses invite adventurers (bungie
jumping's equivalent for the over 50's), and
around the mountain barbecue, the sound
of music, singing for the bus.

The final day: email links consolidated; closing
words before we go to ground our projects.
Descending, like Moses from the mountain,
with no tablets of stone, but living projects for
the people: a discourse of creativity, critique
and resistance; re-imagining empowerment in
adult education for hard times; and thanks
to those who called us here from
across the world.